The Public Opinion Quarterly

SCHOOL OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

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THE purpose of THE PUBLIC OPINION QUARTERLY is to contribute to the study of the nature and working of public opinion in the contemporary world. Editorial policy has no other goal. The cooperation of the editors rests only upon a common desire to support this scholarly purpose. The editors believe that they can best achieve what they have in view by an open-minded hospitality to contributions of many kinds—analyses by disinterested scholars of problems and situations, along with expositions and arguments, perhaps *ex parte,* by direct participants in problems and situations. In the case of each article attention is expressly called by an editorial foreword to the relation of the writer to the activity which he reports or evaluates. The editors hold varying opinions on public questions and they accept no responsibility for the views expressed by contributors. They do accept responsibility for selecting contributions which will in one way or another promote the study and understanding of public opinion and of adding these contributions to the store of data at the disposal of scholars and business and professional workers.

SOL LEVITAN: A CASE STUDY IN POLITICAL TECHNIQUE

By J. T. SALTER

Dr. Salter has been Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Wisconsin since 1930. As this article makes clear, he is particularly interested in human nature in politics and in administration. Each term a variety of politicians and administrators is invited to come and address his students at the university. In 1930 and again in 1931 he received Social Science Research Council fellowships in order to make a first-hand investigation of political leaders, methods, and voters in Philadelphia. His book *Boss Rule: Portraits in City Politics* and magazine articles in scientific and literary journals represent part of his findings. He is editing a volume *The American Politician* that will be published in the fall. Before going to Wisconsin he taught politics at the University of Pennsylvania and was assistant editor of the *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. He also taught at the University of Oklahoma and while there was secretary of the Oklahoma Municipal League and editor of the *Oklahoma Municipal Review*.

Public opinion and other manifestations of the public mind (and liver) have long been subjects of paramount interest to those individuals in our democracy who are engaged in the strenuous trade of politics. Before the Federal Constitution was drafted, some of these political practitioners knew that the business of winning the public's favorable attention was an art. And they knew that the art of wooing the public is not entirely different from the even more ancient art of wooing a woman. For just as logic is not the greatest of the handmaidens of love, neither is it necessarily the greatest of the handmaidens of politics. The tone of the speaker's voice, the sound of his words, the alliteration of his slogans, or the warmth and imagery of his symbols, may win support to second-rate candidates and to issues impossible of fulfillment. The fair sex is not unique in sometimes preferring men because of their characteristics rather than their character.

Incontestably, the unwritten laws of politics are more significant than those that have been put on paper. And this is so because

until today, and probably even today, the individuals who most clearly understand these matters are not writers or bookish men, but "low, ignorant fellows" called politicians. They study public opinion and the springs of public action from their youth to the time that they are stricken with paralysis. They brush elbows with the people and learn to know them in the same fashion that Mark Twain and his fellow pilots learned to know the contour and shallows of the Mississippi River.

The Honorable Sol Levitan, who is now serving his sixth term as State Treasurer of Wisconsin, understands the value of publicity as a careful scholar knows the documents in his field. He said not long ago, "Publicity is like a big diamond. If you bury it in the ground, it helps nobody. But if you hold it up for everyone to see—then you can sell it. Publicity is the same way." The following sketch will demonstrate the kind of knowledge that a "practical politician" has of public opinion and the people.

ACADEMIC INTRODUCTION

I first saw Mr. Levitan in 1930. I had asked an old-time resident of Madison to give me the name of the most colorful politician in Wisconsin. Immediately the answer came, "Sol Levitan, the State Treasurer, is the man you want." I called on Mr. Levitan in the capitol, introduced myself, and explained that I wanted him to tell my class in political parties about his experiences in politics. He threw up his hands and exclaimed, "Professor, I can't do that. I talked three times last week and I talk tonight, but I can't talk in a classroom." I said that if he could talk to the farmers and the other people of the state, he could talk to the students. "Oh, no, professor, talking to the university students is different from talking to a lot of damn Swedes." I insisted that the same talk would do for both groups and added, "there will be a newspaper man there to get your speech." He said that he would come.

Before we entered the classroom on the day of his talk, I introduced him to several students standing near the doorway. As I pronounced the name of one of them—a Miss Goldberg—he held

out his hand, smiled, and said, "That sounds like home cooking to me." In the classroom, he lifted his glasses high on his head, smiled at the seventy students, many of whom were Jewish, and remarked, "I am glad to see so many of my cousins here." The class laughed their appreciation, and Mr. Levitan's career as a University lecturer began. (Since that day he has failed in only one term to talk to each new class studying politics.)

He began with a smile, an inquiring eye, and a hand full of notes. The notes (in large print) were on strips of cardboard six or eight inches long and two inches wide. They were either briefest clues to paragraphs in his life story or passages on such important subjects as "You American people, the greatest educated people in this world. . . . You hold in the palm of your hands the greatest treasure on earth—the ballot. If you have a man in office who votes and works against the people's interest, 'Raus mit 'em.' You American people are broadminded. You don't care where a man comes from, what congregation he belongs to if he is a real American. . . . Now, my dear people, you are studying for the good of the country. Help the government by following the teaching of St. John, 'Love thy neighbor as thyself.' " (Sometimes when he uses this biblical quotation, he adds, "Won't you give me credit that I don't quote Moses?") "I said 5 per cent brains and 90 per cent luck. And I can illustrate this. In Europe we have lotteries. Nobody can be rich unless he buys a ticket. One man wanted No. 14. He got 14 and he won that million. Everybody wondered how he came to pick No. 14. He said that it was brains, but they knew it wasn't brains. They kept after him, and he told them that he had had a dream about the million. A great big six and a great big nine appeared to him. So he used his brains and figured out that 6 plus 9 was 14, and that is how he won."

A PEDDLER FROM LITHUANIA

Limitation of space prevents me from giving more than a few revealing incidents in the story of Sol Levitan's life as he tells it to the students—and the voters too, for on election night in 1936,

when I was at his home as the returns were coming in over the radio, he suddenly smiled and said, "Professor, the speech I gave to your students so many times is the speech that elected me. I started on June 15 and spoke in 69 counties, sometimes two or three times a day. It is now my one speech. It takes forty minutes to an hour to give."

He was born in Taurrogen, Lithuania, on November 1, 1862. After a meager schooling, he set out, when he was barely sixteen years of age, without a dollar in his pocket, to visit an uncle in the Crimea, 3,000 miles away. He arrived, found work, saved the life of his employer's wife and was given the choice of an education or a ticket to America. Sol reached Baltimore without five cents and unable to speak the English language. He worked on a street-paving job, saved some money, and became a peddler with a pack on his back. (He hesitates as he says this, smiles, and then adds, "They call them bond salesmen today.") He peddled among the Pennsylvania Dutch, for they could understand him. Often in the evenings, at the farmhouses where he spent the night, the children would help him to spell and pronounce English words. He would repay this and other kindnesses by doing chores around the house and barn, or by tending babies for the farmers' wives. He finally migrated to Wisconsin and settled permanently. A large number of the people that he went among were immigrants—Scandinavians, Germans, or Swiss. He made his home in New Glarus, a little town in a Swiss-settled region, near Primrose, the home of La Follette. That was in 1881, and by 1887 Sol was able to open a store of his own.

One Saturday morning before his storekeeping days, when he still carried his pack on his back, he walked into a bank in a small Wisconsin town. He stopped, as he entered, to look at the bank President signing bank notes. The President, disturbed by the persistent stare, abruptly said, "What do you want?" Sol asked how long he would have to stay in this country before he, too, could put his name on money. At this the banker laughed so noisily that two clerks came up to see what the commotion was

about. The banker pointed at Sol, and exclaimed, "This Jew peddler wants to know how long he will have to live in America before he can sign currency!" And then turning to Sol he said, "Why you could live here forever and never sign a bank note!"

Mr. Levitan adds, "I thanked him for the encouragement he had given me." And then, "Some years later when I was the President of the Commercial National Bank of Madison, a much larger bank than the one in the little town, I thought of this first bank President of my acquaintance. The first $10 bill that I signed I sent to him as my calling card. I wrote, 'See, I am now signing bank notes, and it did not take me half as long as you said it never would.' "

At another time he described his chance meeting with the original Bob La Follette and the official start of his career in politics. "I happened to go down to a neighborhood near New Glarus. That is where Senior Bob La Follette was born, and I stayed around there and made my home with a man by the name of Eli Peterson, called Uncle Eli. One day when I had dinner, a nice appearing young man, very intelligent, came and right away Eli said, 'Bob, what brings you here?' 'Uncle, I am going to run for District Attorney, and I want you to help me.' And they were talking politics, so all at once he turned and said, 'Bob, why don't you get together with the Jew peddler here? He knows all the farmers and can do you lots of good.' So he said, 'Bob, here is Sol; Sol, here is Bob.' We shook hands, and an honest-to-goodness handshake, not like here in Madison. I didn't know a darn thing about politics, so he instructed me, told me how I should talk to the farmers, and gave me some kind of cards to tell all about it. Well, after we got through talking, business is business with me, and I right away sold him a pair of suspenders, and I supported him the balance of his life."

In 1892 Sol was elected to his first public office, that of Justice of the Peace, in the town of New Glarus. This was just five years after he had established himself as a storekeeper with a store of his own. "I didn't run. There was a town caucus that nominated me. I

held the office four years and never made a cent." His knowledge of law was nil, but resourcefulness has always been one of his dominant characteristics. He "settled" the law suits out of court and sometimes made two friends where he had had one or none before. To quote him: "I was not educated enough to read the law. I didn't want to be embarrassed, so when a case came up before me, I would settle with them. I would say to them, 'Now you are neighbors. You don't want to have a fight; why not settle this out of court?' And I settled with them. Sometimes they had to apologize, sometimes one would pay with a keg of beer, and many times they would not settle, so I would pay it myself. If there was trouble between man and wife, I would ask the husband, 'Are you sure that your next wife will be any better?' I would then turn to the wife, 'Are you sure that your next husband will be any better?' Nobody could be sure, and I advised them to keep what they had. Later I was often thanked by both parties—in private."

His quick wit is revealed by the following story told one evening in his home. "One time I was at a meeting in New Glarus where delegates were chosen for a convention—it was before the direct primary—I was being suggested for delegate when a Norwegian spoke out and said, 'Here, we have enough delegates of our own people. We don't need to go to Jerusalem for one.'" I asked Mr. Levitan how he answered the Norwegian. He had not intended to mention this part of the story, but he smiled and added, "He said, 'We have enough here to choose from and no need to go to Jerusalem for a delegate.' 'Well, you did once. Are you sorry?'"

His resourcefulness is suggested by the following. "In one early fight when La Follette was a candidate for Governor, word was sent to me that the La Follette delegates must carry Green County—my county. I then had a store in New Glarus. One of the other merchants controlled some votes. I often had bargain sales that hurt this man, but this time I needed his votes, so I said, 'Albert, help me elect La Follette delegates, and I will never have a cut-price sale again.' He said, 'Can I trust you?' I said, 'Other people do,' and so he helped me."

"At the convention, I had all the La Follette delegates lined up, and I moved that we make the strongest one of our opponents, the leader of the opposition, chairman of the meeting. If we had him up there on the platform as chairman, he couldn't work around among the delegates."

Later he added, "When I was a candidate for Treasurer, I used to get every vote but four in New Glarus, and every vote but three in Primrose."

SOL JOINS THE PROGRESSIVES

He became a Progressive because he liked La Follette and his ideals, and also because he doubtless had the feeling that La Follette would be Wisconsin and Wisconsin would be La Follette's. To the students and to the voters he explains the matter in these words. (And when he mentions the La Follette name and the Progressive cause, he grows tense, he stands erect, or leans forward and shakes his fist at the unseen foe of the people.)

"Why am I a Progressive? When I moved to Madison, La Follette and I were neighbors. And he always said that people were not getting fair play and something should be done to change conditions. Naturally I liked his way, and Progressives have done considerable. Now they give you the Civil Service. Before it was only a few, those who had a little pull, could get a job. Now they have got Civil Service, and we all have the same chance. If you have good marks, you get a job. That's a step in the right direction."[1]

In his successful reelection campaign for 1936, Sol made a particular appeal to the women in his audience. He asked the rhetorical question, "Who is it that brings up the American race?," and gave the answer, "The woman, she brings up the child from the time he is born until he votes. Say that a woman is not a poli-

[1] But in 1937 when the legislature was considering a bill that would extend the merit system to the inspectors in the Beverage Tax Division, then under Mr. Levitan's control, he worked against the measure. He was called upon to testify before a Senate committee. He launched into the story of his life, was interrupted and asked if he did, or did not, favor the Williams (Merit System) bill. Mr. Levitan paused an instant, smiled, looked at the man who had introduced the measure, and exclaimed, "Why, I have known Mr. Williams for 25 years," and then with a twinkle, "and I have known his wife for 50 years." Everyone laughed, and Mr. Levitan was excused

tician? She is the greatest politician in the world. She plays politics to win her man. After she is married, she plays politics to keep him happy. I live in Madison. The women there are wonderful. Half of them have a university education. The other half make you think they have. The men could never get along without you. When we are young we love you. When we are middle-aged, we appreciate you; but when we are old, we are crazy about you."

And then to the voters he adds, "Let me tell you, my dear people, you don't have to be afraid of La Follette. It took courage to be a Progressive at one time. I remember in New Glarus the banker called me in and said, 'Sol, you are hollering too much for Bob. Now you owe us $1,000. When you pay us up you can holler for Bob. As long as you owe us, you don't holler for Bob.' Then $1,000 looked like a million. I decided I was going to borrow from my relatives. (I soon discovered that the poorest place in the world to try to borrow money is from relatives. They know you too well.) I borrowed that money, and I have been hollering for Bob all his lifetime, and I am supporting Phil La Follette for Governor."

All of his life he has learned by doing—the way that more than 90 per cent of all politicians learn. He learned about people from people. People are to him the data that the surgeon finds in the hospital or the student of constitutional law finds in the Supreme Court reports—except that the physician and the lawyer have other sources of information too, but Sol has only one—people. The ballot box on election night tells him how well he understands his subject. He does a thing a certain way and if it meets with the right response, he does it again; if he fails to receive the desired result, he asks, "Now where was I wrong? How should this be done?"

Mr. Levitan was first elected to county and state conventions. Then in 1924 he was a delegate to a national convention—an alternate delegate in 1916 and 1920. He first became a candidate for State Treasurer in 1918. Some of the party leaders wanted him to try for the office of Lieutenant Governor, but he said, "Now you gentlemen know that I cannot preside over the Senate. I don't know Robert's Rules of Order, but make me State Treasurer. Give

me something that I know. I can count your money in the dark and never lose a nickel."

In the 1936 campaign for reelection, critics said he was too old to hold the office. He replied, "Wisdom comes from experience. Handling the people's money is not a job for a politician. There's too much temptation. It might be good to let an elderly man handle your money. He's looking for the golden gate, not the golden calf."

The argument seemed as logical to the students as it does to their parents—the voters. However, in his 1918 campaign, and again in 1920 he was defeated. "I didn't campaign at all in these years. They told me to stay home—the less the people look at me, the more votes I have. I did use a campaign card. One of the leaders said I lost because my picture was on the card. But in 1922 I went out campaigning. The Lieutenant Governor, George F. Comings, Mrs. Rosa, and Ida James went with me. La Follette was not there, but he told the people to vote for me. They told me how to make a speech, but each morning my speech was 'How much is the bill?' (The hotel bill where the campaigners had spent the night.) Then at Baraboo I did make a speech—because of luck. Mrs. James was talking about bacon and pork, the rich robbing the poor—how it was that bacon sells so high and yet the farmer gets so little for his pigs.

"A conductor in the crowd of farmers said, 'Let's hear what Sol has to say?' I hadn't my speech with me, but I started talking about the big packers in Chicago who buy the pigs at their own price. They form a monopoly and cheat the farmers. The conductor called out, 'What in hell does Sol know about pork chops?' Everyone laughed, and I knew what the people wanted in a speech."

However, he nearly lost the third try at the nomination. I quote Mr. Levitan himself. "In 1922, La Follette didn't want me. I'd tried twice and lost. He thought I couldn't make it. So he invited some leaders of the Progressives (Crownhart, Comings, Evjue, etc.) and says to them, 'Gentlemen, I brought you here. We need a State Treasurer. Must have a Progressive. I feel friendly to Sol, but I feel he can't make it. I don't want to jeopardize the Progressive move-

ment for any man.' La Follette asked each what he thought of me. Then Secretary of State Hall came into the discussion. La Follette told him, 'We want to make a strong ticket. We don't want to put any lemons there.' Hall asked, 'Who's the lemon?' 'Sol Levitan.' Hall said, '*Let him talk. A man who hears Sol will vote for him.*' " La Follette was persuaded by the group to give Sol his support. Hall was right. And since that time Sol's main ambition is to give the sovereign voter the opportunity to hear him talk.

Later he told me in a personal conversation that he had learned much by his first speech. "I asked myself what must I do to get elected? What do people want? I decided that they don't want it all like going to church. They want jokes, so I studied what to do. I learned some German stories, some Norwegian stories, and told them in every speech. The press carried these stories, and I got much publicity.

"It gave me an idea—here I come in a country, don't know the language, the ways, but I sell them merchandise. Why, when I know English ways, don't I sell them myself? I studied what every kind of people want, tried to be humoristic."

Then addressing the students, he said, "There was a man named Jensen that campaigned against me. He was Jensen when he talked before the Danes, but he was Johnson when he spoke to Norwegians. I would say, 'Suppose I tell you I am a Swede. You look at me and say '*Langte fra*' [Far from it]. I could change my name, what good would it do me the minute that you look at my Irish face?" Then he pointed at a beautiful girl sitting in the first row. "Of course I would like to have a pretty face like that too, if I could." It was a direct hit with all the students, and had made each one in the class feel that he was just a little better than Sol. (For in that class as in every other advanced university class or in every community outside of the university as well, there are people who feel inferior, or who are afraid that they never will quite reach the mark, or achieve the success on which they had earlier counted. They naturally associate correct English with superiority. Now they behold a man speaking what seems to be broken English with a

foreign tang. His accent, his double negative, his slurring of words cause these people, many of whom are uncertain about such intricate questions as the plural subject and plural verb present, to feel superior—even patronizingly so. Sol inflates the ego of the student and the voter; they recognize this new feeling of power that comes to them as they listen to him jest at himself or at his race. They show their appreciation by their vote.)

SPEECHES CAREFULLY PREPARED

At first blush Mr. Levitan's address in the classroom or on the hustings may seem to be only a hapazard lecture that is tossed off without careful preparation. Or it may seem to be a naïve performance that may hit or miss the fancy of the group. Neither supposition is correct. First the speeches are carefully, even laboriously, prepared in consultation with appropriate experts (newspapermen, professors, etc.). When the speech is finally given it embodies a highly developed and selective appeal aimed at stereotypes and blind spots in the listener's mind. The appeal arouses a feeling of sympathetic superiority and goodwill, which will later be transformed into a vote at the polls. The faulty English, the foreign accent, the mispronounced words are aids in helping him win and hold attention and sympathy. (Some years ago he asked a professor of speech to teach him how to speak English correctly. He was told not to change anything or he would ruin his speech. Today he knows this to be true. At the start of each address he refers with joy in his heart to his lack of formal training.

His public speaking formula seems to be, first, Sol himself in his most expansive, cheerful, and engaging manner. Next, he tells a joke—probably about himself and his race; then he presents something in a more serious tone on La Follette and the Progressive Party, or on the superiorities and excellencies of the group before him. In a broad sense all of his speeches are the same, and yet each is different. For example, when he first addressed my students he said, "One time, just before Christmas, some of your young men from the university were feeling pretty jolly in front of a movie

house. The police thought they were disturbing the peace and took them around the corner to the stationhouse. I followed the patrol wagon and signed bail bonds to let them go. Then I went to your Dean and said, 'Dean, what are you going to do to the boys?' He didn't know. I said, 'You want the university budget approved?'" (The preceding legislature had not approved the appropriation for the university. The preceding appropriation could be approved by an emergency board of three men. One of these was the State Treasurer.) "He got the idea." The students in the classroom got the idea too.

The third element in his speech is again a joke. But the joke is uniquely arresting and it is more than "humoristic." It may be folklore; something that has been for an unknown time associated with the sorrows and struggles of the human race.

In any case it is stamped with the original flavor of Sol. Finally, Mr. Levitan says that the one thing that he has contributed to the ancient art of campaigning is this: "Never talk anything against nobody."

GENIUS FOR PUBLICITY

Mr. Levitan's genius for publicity, his energy in pursuing it, and his amazing wit in achieving it, are subjects that require special mention. Publicity not only helps him in his trade of politics, but is a form of recognition. And the desire for recognition is the dominant motif in his life. He loves people, but even more than that, he loves to talk to people. The warm embrace of the crowd is to him like the baying of the hounds to the fox hunter, as the flawless print to the camera devotee, or a sharp increase in the price of milk to the dairyman. At different times, when I talked to him during long evenings when he was out of office, he would be sure to say, "Professor, get me some speaking engagements—Chautauquas and like that. I only want my expenses and you can have the rest." I pleaded total lack of connections to do this sort of thing.

After midnight of November 3 last year, right at the very moment of victory, when he was surrounded in his home by his

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closest friends (and the interloper—the Professor) he suddenly turned to me and said, "Now I am elected. Now you will find places for me to speak." There was no thought then of quitting now that the arduous campaign was over. The one thing in his mind seemed to be, "Now maybe I can get opportunities to talk to more people than ever before. The treasury office is a detail on my march to better recognition. Not money—that has limited uses and it may pass away, but glory! Not the people now, but Sol!" After he had won the nomination in the primary last year, he said, "It makes me feel as though Senator and Mrs. La Follette, Sr., were living again. They were the greatest people Wisconsin ever had. They were always kind and sympathetic to me."

As an indication of how well he succeeded in the past in satisfying his desire for talking, I quote his own statement, and this of course merely suggests his activity in this field but does not cover it:

"I was invited to every normal school in the State of Wisconsin, and I talked to the students, give them good advice. Then I talked to the P.T.A.—that is very valuable. Then I used to go in the schools when they invited me, every Friday night. Then I talked to the high schools, when they invited me, and in the public schools. Also in the industrial schools. Then I talked in the colleges, Lawrence and Ripon. I was invited to talk to the Women's Club and the Lions Club, and the Kiwanis Club."

The man who hitch-hiked to the Crimea and travelled from there to the State Treasurer's office in Wisconsin never got where he is today by hiding his light under a bushel, and he knows it. None of the world's literature moves him as does the sight of his own name in print. At his spacious office in the capitol he has proudly shown me massive drawers filled with newspaper clippings about him. The contents of two of these drawers would fill a trunk —and he points out that the greatest metropolitan dailies as well as the country weeklies celebrate him in their columns.

THE CENTER OF THE PICTURE

When he is among a group of public officials whose picture is about to be taken he has a tendency, sometimes curbed, to get right in front of the group. Last Fourth of July, he "happened" to be at a park where a picnic was in progress. They had thirty minutes on a statewide hook-up. Just before the festivities were to go on the air, Mr. Levitan asked if he might say a few words to his friends. The secretary thought it a fine idea, and introduced "our friend, Mr. Levitan, who will say a few words." Mr. Levitan started right out. He took notes from his pocket and spoke with animation about his own campaign for reelection to the State Treasurer's office and the glory of living in a free land where independence from all outside control has been established. Before he had quite finished, the secretary had to announce that their time on the air was gone, and all he could do was to wish all their friends "good-bye."

A short time ago he was in Fond du Lac right at the moment that the Chamber of Commerce was holding its annual convention. Mr. Levitan asked the Madison secretary if he might say a few words to the delegates. He was finally granted the permission, but only on condition that he would not tell the delegates that he was a candidate for reelection to the State Treasurer's office. The first words that Mr. Levitan spoke to the assembled Chamber of Commerce Secretaries were, "Gentlemen, your very kind Mr. ——— has made me promise that I will not tell you that I am a candidate for reelection to the State Treasurer's office, and I won't." He then gave a non-political address.

Once he said, "My publicity costs me a lot of money. I was surprised there are so many countries. There must be 200. I sent out a picture of me conducting a service at Yom Kippur to the Jewish organizations in all foreign countries. I sent the Wisconsin Treasury Report to the finance minister in all countries."

A park improvement association was holding a fair in order to raise funds for its work. Although Mr. Levitan declined to buy a ticket, he said he would have 1,000 tickets printed for the association. His offer was accepted, and a few days later the tickets

appeared. On one side was printed, "Admit one to Park Improvement Association Fair," and the date. On the other side: "Compliments of Sol Levitan, Candidate for State Treasurer."

(Later, in 1932, after he had previously been elected five times in succession to the office of State Treasurer, he neglected one detail in the attention-getting game of publicity. This might have caused, or at least contributed to, his defeat in that year. "I saved $1,000 in 1932 in not sending letters to people for signing my nomination papers. In the past I had always sent these letters. But I was already feeling the depression in 1932 and I tried to save some money. This was a big mistake. When you are in a fight, money should be the least part.")

Here is another example showing Mr. Levitan's ability to get publicity. One time after he had spoken to my class he immediately returned to the state capitol. I had a class the next hour, but when I returned to my office, I found a secretary's memorandum on my desk to the effect that I should call the State Treasurer on the telephone. When I spoke to him over the telephone, he said, "See, I bring glory to you. Look on the front page of the *Chicago Tribune.*" And there it was—"Hon. Solomon Levitan, State Treasurer of Wisconsin, delivers address on government to the students in Professor J. T. Salter's class at the university." Save that brief condensed paragraph, that which followed was no more descriptive of Sol's talk than night is like day—it was merely a statement that a secretary had prepared for the press. Later, I found by actual count that twenty-seven newspapers in Wisconsin mentioned the fact that the State Treasurer had spoken at the university.

Mr. Levitan addressed my class last March, and following his talk I sent him a three-page letter containing excerpts from student papers on him. He turned the letter over to Betty Cass, our local Heywood Broun, and she published the letter in three columns after editorially stating ". . . judging from the impression he made on the class, he can be State Treasurer five times more if he'll just wait until the present crop of university students are voters." Mr. Levitan bought twenty-five copies of the *State Journal* containing

this article. He sent one to Governor Lehman, one to Brisbane, one to the A.P., and the others to Jewish newspapers. In November, after the election, I again asked Mr. Levitan to speak to my students. He said, "I have just been over to talk to Bob La Follette. Had a heart-to-heart talk with him. Now I'll let you know about the students. I got to see Nathenson first." (His campaign manager.) "Got to see him about the release. You know—the press." Nothing is left to chance and hope is eternal in the politician's breast.

This fragment of a sketch might be ended by noting that Mr. Levitan carried on a lone-wolf campaign in the primary of 1936. The Farm-Labor Federation which was thought to have considerable strength in Milwaukee, Sheboygan, Racine, and Kenosha Counties refused to endorse him. Nevertheless, he carried three of these counties in the primary without the Federation's endorsements. He was forced to rely solely on his own two legs, two hands, and "Irish" face for carrying his message to the voters. He had a campaign headquarters, as I have just indicated, sending out letters; and he had some friends scattered over the state, who gave some measure of help in particular communities; but the lion's share of winning the nomination belongs to the candidate. He certainly believes that too. A friend of William Nathenson, the campaign manager, sought to do him a favor after the election by praising his political work to Mr. Levitan. Sol listened to the tribute, said it was nice, and then added, "But who talked to the voters in sixty-nine counties?"

PROPAGANDA IN THE SCHOOLS – DO THE EFFECTS LAST?

By H. H. REMMERS

The author, who received his doctorate from the University of Iowa in 1927, is Professor of Education and Psychology and Director of the Division of Educational Reference at Purdue University. He has made many contributions to educational and psychological journals, and is known for his research in identifying and measuring attitudes.

One of the important rôles of the schools has always been to inculcate what the educators in power regard as socially desirable attitudes. Sometimes teaching is directly aimed at attitudes; sometimes changes in attitudes are by-products of instruction; sometimes they may be unconscious reactions to it. In any case, it is of both theoretical and practical interest to learn to what extent attitudes can be directly changed by educational propaganda. Are some attitudes affected more readily than others? And, once an attitude has changed, how long does it persist in its new form? The investigations described here throw some light on these questions.[1]

EXPERIMENTS IN SHIFTING ATTITUDES

The first experiment was planned to determine the effect of defined instructional material upon the attitudes of high school pupils. The subject was the *conservation of natural resources.* The instructional material consisted of three relatively short articles simply written and designed to be intelligible at the junior high school level. The three articles could be read in fifteen minutes

[1] The investigations here reported have been aided by a grant from the Josiah Macy Jr. Foundation. The description here is shorn of the technical mathematical treatment of the experimental results and of many incidental findings. A technical report of the investigations will be found in H. H. Remmers and Others, "Further Studies in Attitudes, Series II," *Studies in Higher Education XXXI, Bulletin of Purdue University,* Vol. XXXVII, No. 4, December 1936. For references and discussion concerning attitude measurement and changes see Carl Murchison, *Handbook of Social Psychology,* Chapter 17. "Attitudes" by G. W. Allport, Clark University Press, 1935

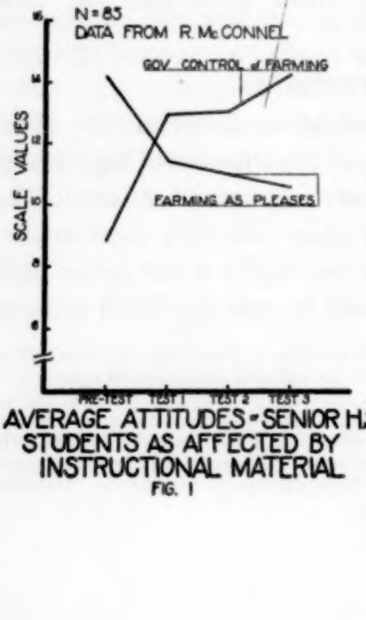
or less. The content was based upon bulletins of the United States Bureau of Agriculture giving factual data concerning deforestation, soil erosion, and related problems.[2] Five attitude objects were defined: (1) allowing the government to tell the farmer how to farm, (2) allowing each farmer to farm as he pleases, (3) clean farming, (4) taxing all the people to plant new forest, and (5) draining swamps.

Eighty-five high school pupils in a semi-rural community were measured with respect to attitudes toward these five attitude objects. The first article was then read one week after this pre-test. Following the reading the pupils reacted to the five attitude objects. A week later the second article was read and the pupils measured on another form of the scale.[3]

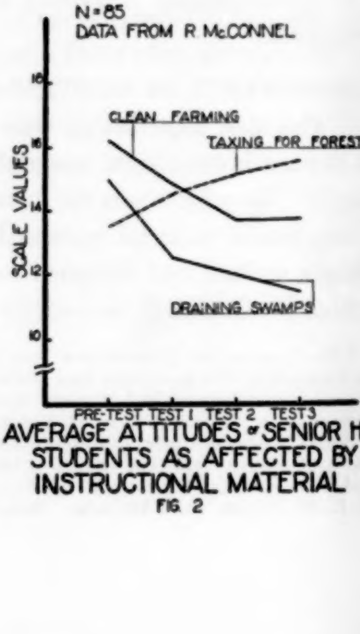
A week later the third article was read and the third form was administered.

[2] The three articles, prepared by John Hancock under the writer's supervision, may be found in "Further Studies in Attitudes, Series II," *Studies in Higher Education XXXI, Bulletin of Purdue University*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 4, December 1936, pp. 100-4

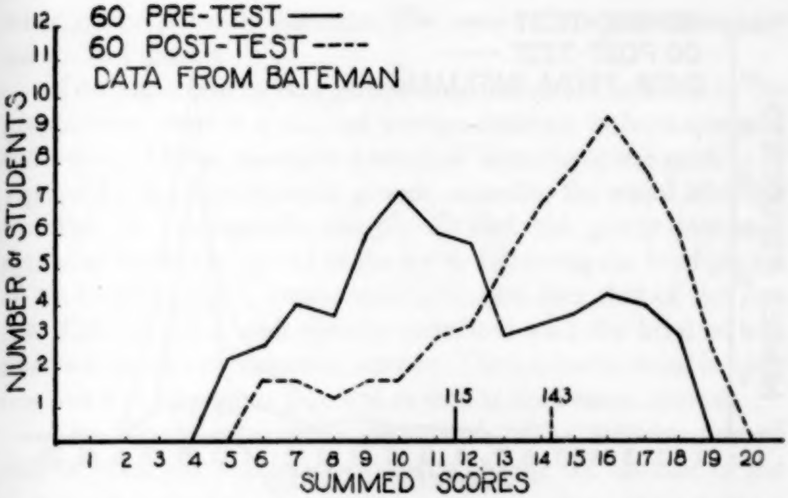
[3] The scale used was the Thomas-Remmers scale to Measure Attitude toward Any Proposed Social Action. See "Further Studies in Attitudes, Series II," *Studies in Higher Education XXXI*, pp. 252-8



AVERAGE ATTITUDES - SENIOR H.S. STUDENTS AS AFFECTED BY INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL
FIG. 1



AVERAGE ATTITUDES of SENIOR HS STUDENTS AS AFFECTED BY INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL
FIG. 2



FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF ATTITUDES FOR CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

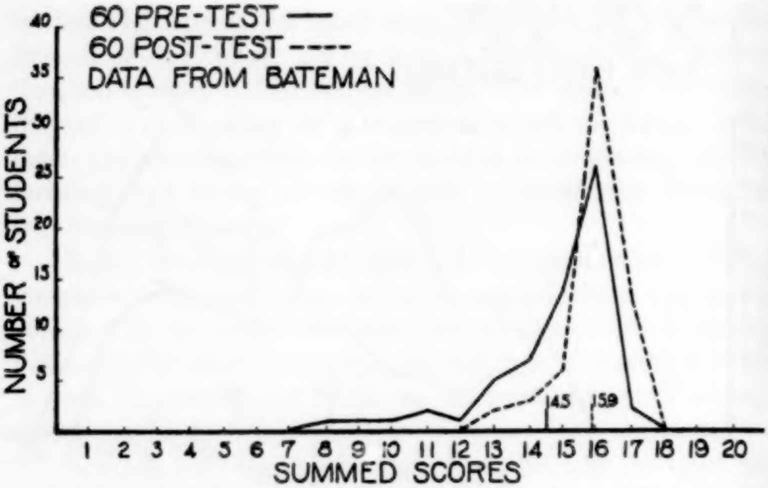
FIG. 3

The average results are shown in Figures 1 and 2. The higher the scale value, the more favorable the attitude. In the case of each of the five attitude objects there was a marked and consistent average change in the direction intended by the social stimulus material. It is of interest to note that the two curves in Figure 1 cross approximately at 12, which is the indifference.

Another series of experiments designed to evaluate instructional materials concerned with (1) capital punishment, (2) social insurance, (3) labor unions, and (4) divorce, were carried out by Bateman and the present writer.

Sixty seniors in a small city high school were measured with respect to their attitudes toward the attitude objects in question by means of the Kelley-Remmers Scale to Measure Attitude toward Any Social Institution.[4]

[4] Ida B. Kelley, "The Construction and Evaluation of a Scale to Measure Attitude toward Any Institution," *Studies in Attitudes . . . Studies in Higher Education XXVI, Bulletin of Purdue University,* Vol. XXXV, No. 4, December, 1934, pp. 18-36



FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF ATTITUDES FOR SOCIAL INSURANCE

FIG. 4

Following the pre-test a paper prepared by Bateman was read to the class. Following the reading of the paper the attitude toward *capital punishment* was measured. Figure 3 shows the amount of the change produced in the attitude by the reading of the paper.

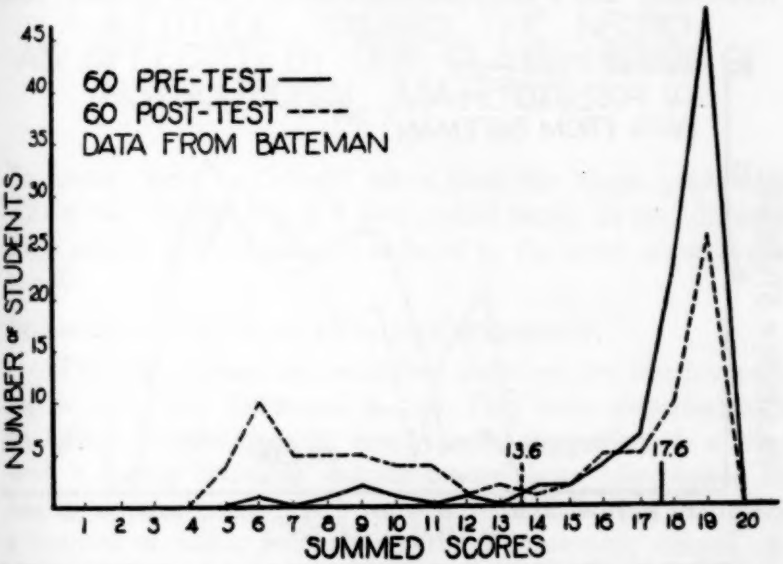
A second experiment was carried out with similar procedure and the same experimental group with respect to attitude toward *social insurance*. The social stimulus material designed to change the attitude was in this instance the reading of a paper originally given by Miss Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, on the radio program of the Town Meeting of the Air. Again a reliable shift toward a more favorable average attitude was obtained as appears in Figure 4.

A third experiment dealt with attitudes toward *labor unions*. The procedure and the experimental group were the same as in the two preceding experiments. The social stimulus material was

an article prepared by Bateman. The results of the experiment are shown in Figure 5.

Two important facts of general importance are reflected by the graph. First, there is a marked average decrease in favorable attitudes toward labor unions as a result of listening to the reading of a paper by the experimental group; secondly, the social stimulus material, or propaganda, sharply divided the group into two opposing tents. The spread of the scores following the brief period of "indoctrination" is enormously increased over that of the pretest. This spread is undoubtedly correlated with the kind of tensions which lead to industrial warfare. The explosion point in such tensions is of enormous practical as well as theoretical interest.

The fourth experiment concerned with attitudes toward *divorce* made no conscious attempt to change the attitude of the



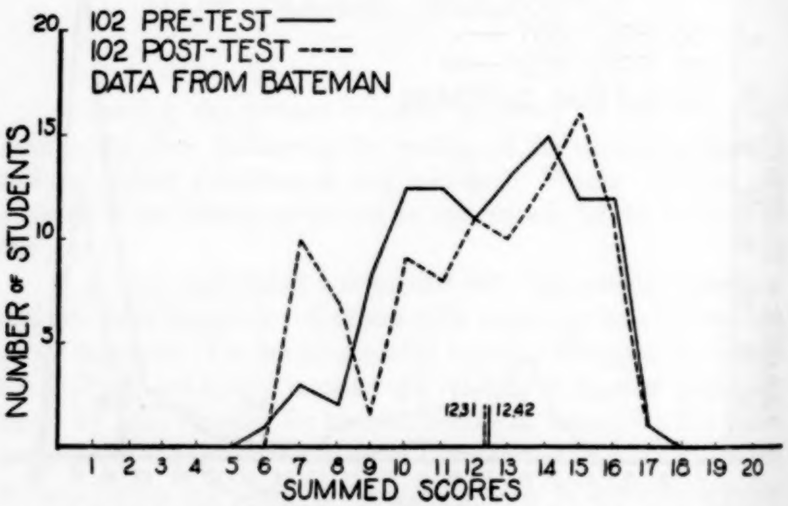
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF ATTITUDES FOR LABOR UNIONS

FIG. 5

pupils. The topic of divorce was studied from an outline provided by the teacher.

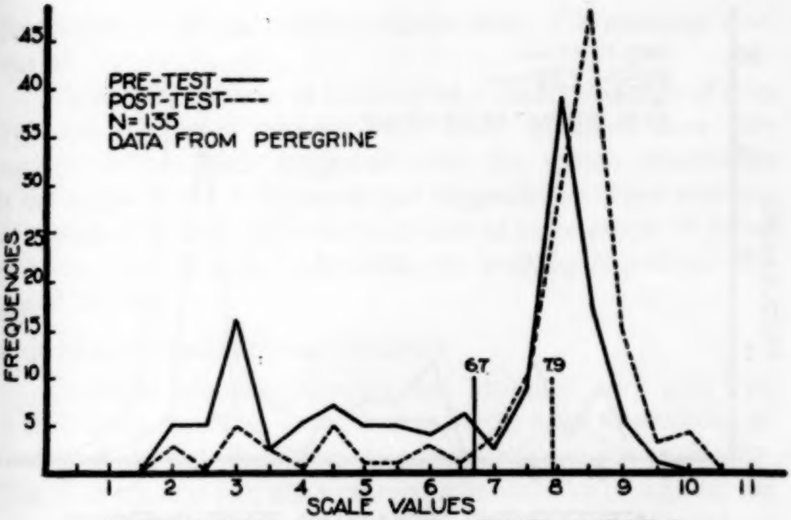
As appears from Figure 6, no appreciable shift in attitudes toward divorce occurred as the result of the study. This series of four experiments clearly indicates that a high school teacher is likely to obtain the kinds of attitudes which are consciously set up as educational objectives and striven for as such. And it appears that unless some specific effort is made to change attitudes they are not likely to change.

Another series of experiments dealing with attitudes toward the *Negro* was undertaken by Peregrine under the writer's direction. The propaganda material consisted of a short piece adapted from *Dark Water* by W. E. B. DuBois, a short news despatch under the heading "Negro Scientists Make Useful Product from Rudiments," and a short piece by Charles Carson entitled "And



FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF ATTITUDES FOR DIVORCE

FIG. 6



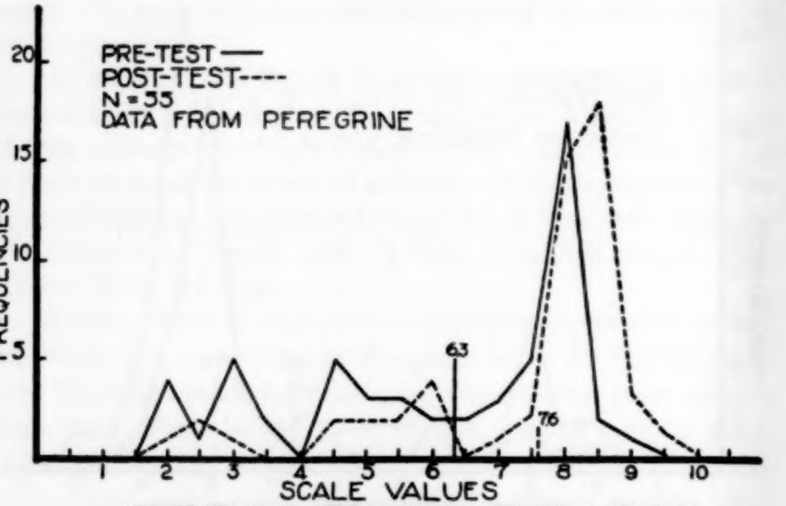
ATTITUDE TOWARD THE NEGRO AS AFFECTED BY ONE CLASS PERIOD OF INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL

FIG. 7

So Lucile Went to College" taken from the Negro publication *The Crisis.* Figures 7 and 8 give typical results in two different high schools of the total shift induced by the social stimulus material.

CHANGING ATTITUDES THROUGH HYPNOSIS

Two experiments not published elsewhere are worth reporting here for their theoretical interest. They were concerned with changing attitudes through post-hypnotic suggestion. A student with a highly favorable attitude toward Jews (determined by filling out an attitude scale) was hypnotized. During the trance a number of rather general suggestions concerning alleged undesirable characteristics of Jews were given. Following the trance the student was instructed to fill out a second form of the attitude scale with reference to Jews. The score showed an extremely negative attitude. The subject, who remembered nothing of the



ATTITUDE TOWARD THE NEGRO AS AFFECTED BY ONE CLASS PERIOD OF INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL

FIG. 8

suggestions given during the hypnotic trance, was then told exactly what had transpired. He was then tested and found to have regained his original attitude.

In another experiment students were asked to fill out a scale toward the attitude object of enforcing a *non-smoking* tradition on the campus. A senior woman in the class was found to have a highly favorable attitude toward this proposition and volunteered to serve as a subject for the demonstration. It should be said in passing that a number of other attitude objects were also reacted to and none of the students knew the purpose of the attitude measurement, or of the demonstration, until after it was completed. The original score of this young woman was 9.2, the indifference point being 6.0. Following post-hypnotic suggestions concerning the triviality and childishness of the non-smoking issue and similar suggestions, her score became 1.2. After explaining the purpose of the entire procedure the writer requested

the student to fill out another attitude scale. The resulting score was 7.8.

These two experiments in changing attitudes by means of post-hypnotic suggestion perhaps raise more questions than they answer. It has been suggested[5] that the speech mechanism is the major factor in hypnosis and suggestibility. Since attitudes as measured in these experiments consist of indorsement of verbal opinions, they fit rather admirably the working hypothesis suggested by Hull.

THE PERSISTENCE OF ATTITUDES

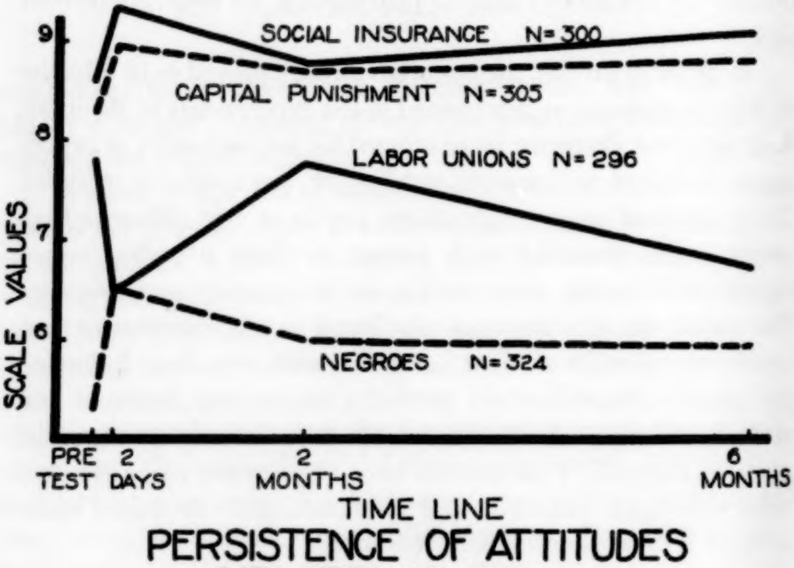
The belief is widely prevalent that "attitudes" are highly fluid in their characteristics—so much so as hardly to be measurable, or, if measurable, not worth measuring because of this very fluidity. That is to say, it is frequently alleged that attitudes of a given sort may change to their opposite over night and presumably without assignable causes. Obviously, therefore, it is of great importance to study the life history of a changed attitude for some appreciable time.

In order to do this, the materials already proved to be effective in shifting attitudes as determined in the experiments of Bateman, Remmers, and Peregrine were utilized for another series of experiments designed to measure stability of the changed attitudes. Three hundred senior high school pupils in two different high schools were measured with respect to their attitudes toward *capital punishment, labor union, social security,* and *Negroes.* The social stimulus material developed in the experiment previously described was then presented and two days following the initial measurement or pre-test a second measurement was made to determine the amount of the shifts induced by the social stimulus material. Two months later (November 1936) the attitudes were again measured, and six months after the initial measurement a third measurement was made.

[5] Clark L. Hull, *Hypnosis and Suggestibility, an Experimental Approach,* New York: Appleton-Century, 1933, pp. 395 ff.

The averages for the four issues, when plotted against the time at which the various measurements were made, resulted in Figure 9. These graphs reveal (1) a change in attitude in accordance with the experiments previously described in which the same social stimulus materials were used; (2) a regression toward the original "pre-indoctrination" status of the attitudes sometime during the first two months following the "indoctrination," and (3) with the exception of attitudes toward labor unions, the attitudes persist for a period of at least six months with very little change after a slight initial regression.

The case of the attitudes toward *labor unions* is especially interesting, in view of the fact that the experiment was being carried on during a year when American industry was beset by sit-down strikes and in general much labor unrest. This was paralleled by an enormous volume of printed news and propaganda in the newspapers as well as by similar news and propa-



PERSISTENCE OF ATTITUDES
DATA FROM W. HALL
FIG. 9

ganda over the radio and much discussion directed against labor unions. Doubtless the drop in the attitude toward labor unions after the two months' interval is largely to be accounted for in terms of this propaganda. Probably the slight rise in the average attitude toward social insurance is similarly to be accounted for.

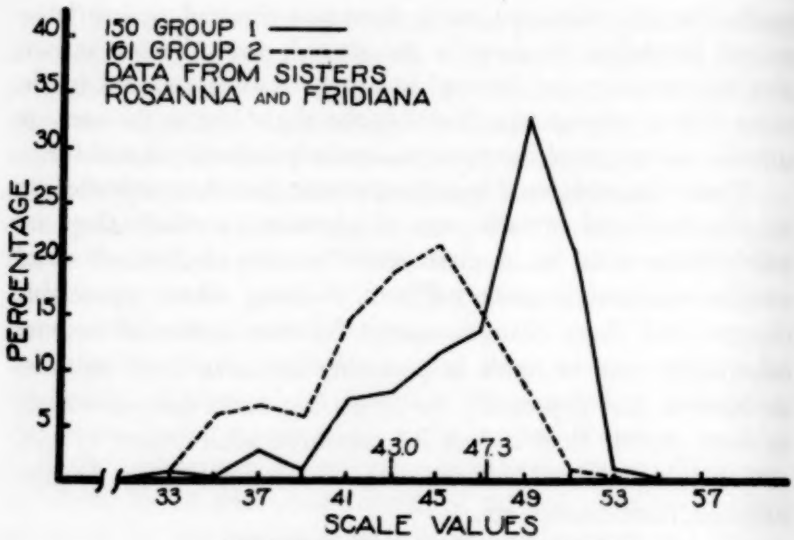
From this evidence it is quite apparent that these attitudes are not the fluid and mutable sort of phenomena which they are widely believed to be. A class period or two of directed social stimulus material is quite sufficient to bring about appreciable changes, and these changes, except for very powerful counter stimulation, tend to result in persisting attitudes. Such attitudes are learned, and apparently the forgetting curve drops certainly no more rapidly than it does for measured achievement in conventional high school subjects such as history, biology, foreign language, mathematics, etc.

SHIFT CAUSED BY "INCIDENTAL LEARNING"

The term "incidental learning" is not infrequently used in the literature of educational psychology. In a sense, of course, there can be no incidental learning if by that is meant something in the way of stimulus situations to which the individual does not respond directly. Apparently, what is usually meant is learning incidental to the aim of the teacher or the curriculum maker. From the point of view of the pupil the situation may be quite otherwise.

Figure 10 shows the effect of the pupil self-government system in operation in Grades 6, 7, and 8 in one of the Lafayette Catholic parochial schools upon attitudes toward *law observance*. The contrast in the attitude of comparable groups (comparable, that is, in intelligence and grade placement) from two other parochial schools, where self-government did not exist, is striking. At the time of investigation the self-government scheme had been in operation approximately two years.

Attitude toward law observance was measured by having the pupils react to ten actual court cases obtained from a local



ATTITUDE TOWARD LAW OBSERVANCE
FIG. 10

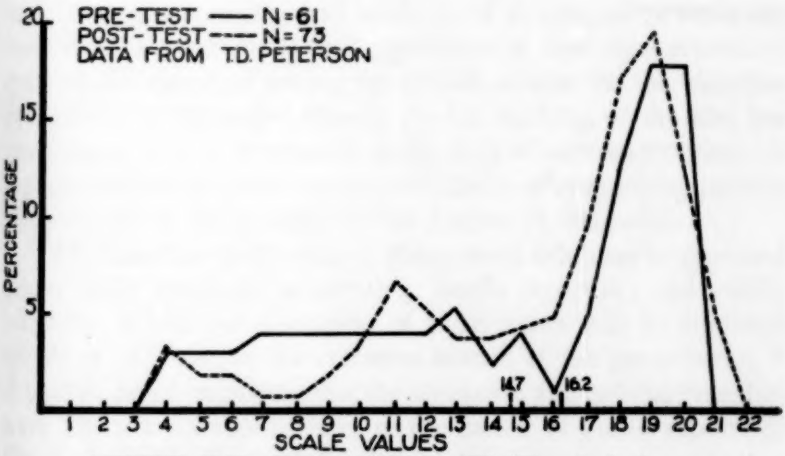
attorney.[6] The cases were selected with a view to producing in the mind of the child a conflict between humanly desirable objectives on the one hand and laws forbidding certain methods of reaching these objectives on the other. In each case the children reacted to the judge's decision. In order that vocabulary difficulties might be obviated, the English teachers in the grades in question were given all of the words in the attitude scales a week previous to the actual measurement for vocabulary drill. The results as shown in Figure 10 are striking. Their implications in a democratic form of society are too obvious to need elaboration.

A further very significant set of findings is shown in Figure 11.[7] Here the attitude toward the *Agricultural Adjustment Admin-*

[6] Peters, Sister Fridiana and Peters, Sister Rosanna, *Studies in Higher Education XXXI*, pp. 15-26

[7] T. D. Peterson, *Studies in Higher Education XXXI*, p. 140

istration was the subject of investigation. It happened that approximately half of the high school population used was measured just before the Supreme Court's invalidation of the act. The remainder of the population was measured some three weeks after invalidation of the act. The pupils were from a rural background in west central Indiana. Since there was no conscious selection of the group measured before or after the Supreme Court decision, the most reasonable assumption is that, had both groups been measured at the same time they would have been substantially equal. The actual average difference, however, is statistically quite reliable and considerably less favorable on the average following the invalidation of the act by the Supreme Court. Unquestionably we have here a sort of index of the prestige effect of the Supreme Court, for quite obviously nothing in the economic situation affecting farmers changed during the interval. The only occurrence of significance was the Supreme Court decision.



ATTITUDE TOWARD THE AAA
AS AFFECTED BY
THE SUPREME COURT DECISION
FIG. 11

SUMMARY

Thus we see from a number of experiments specifically designed to change attitudes, as well as from studies of incidental acquisition of attitudes, that certain significant generalizations can be made:

1. Attitudes can be measured.

2. Measurable and significant changes in socially important attitudes can be produced in the upper elementary grades and at the high school level in as little as fifteen minutes of instructional activity.

3. Factors influencing the incidental acquisition of attitudes (such as attitudes toward judicial decisions) can be evaluated, and in the investigations here reported the attitude toward such decisions is much more favorable under a pupil self-government program than otherwise.

4. Once changed, attitudes tend to persist as changed. The present evidence indicates that they are at least no more quickly "forgotten" than is the conventional subject matter learned in the classroom.

PUBLIC REPORTING IN THE AMERICAN STATES

By W. BROOKE GRAVES

Dr. Graves, Professor of Political Science at Temple University and author of books and articles in the field of state government, edited the January 1938 number of the *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. He graduated from Cornell University in 1921 and received his doctorate from the University of Pennsylvania. For some years he has been active in political work, notably in the campaign for revision of the Pennsylvania Constitution, and as a member of the technical staff of the State's Joint Legislative Committee on Finances. The QUARTERLY believes this to be the first comprehensive survey of the public reporting of state governments.

The relations of a state government to its citizens, and to the public generally, constitute a field of inquiry as yet almost wholly unexplored by the political scientist. Librarians have for years concerned themselves with the document issues of Federal, state, and local governments, and students of municipal government have made some analysis of the problems of municipal reporting, even to the extent of setting up certain criteria for the objective evaluation of municipal reports. So far, nothing of the sort has been done, or even attempted, in the field of state government; it is proposed here to mark out the field, and to offer some suggestions with regard to the possibilities for further investigation.

The activities of the states in this general field may be classified under three headings: advertising, public reporting, and public relations. While our discussion of these topics will be confined chiefly to their use by the executive branch of the government, it should be noted in passing that the legislative and judicial branches have important responsibilities in the matter of public reporting. On the judicial side, there are the regular court reports, and more recently, the reports of judicial councils; the legislature publishes its journal, some record of debates, the session laws, codes, manuals and legislative directories, reports of investigating committees,

and the reports of legislative councils, where such exist.[1] These problems are of sufficient importance to warrant investigation; even a casual examination of the state manuals, for instance, is sufficient to reveal the widest diversity with regard to size, format, content, et cetera, yet it ought to be relatively easy to agree upon certain essential items which ought regularly to be included.

In the last few years, a number of newer agencies have added greatly to the output of state government publication; while they cannot be discussed at length here, some mention of them should be made. The legislatures of some of the states, through the use of the ad interim investigating committee, publish many valuable reports; notable among these committees is the New York State Commission for the Revision of the Tax Laws, which has published annually since 1919 at least one significant report on the financial aspects of state or local government. Its reports on old-age security and the reorganization of local government have been especially valuable.[2]

While New York has done more with this device than perhaps any other state, there are signs that its use is increasing. The new legislative and judicial councils, already mentioned, have undertaken the investigation of numerous subjects lying within their respective fields, and have published useful reports. Most recent additions to this list of agencies are the state planning boards, now functioning under one form of organization or another in practically all of the states. In most of the states, they have ably reported on numerous subjects of current interest.

ADVERTISING, PUBLIC REPORTING, PUBLIC RELATIONS

Let us turn now to the first of the three forms mentioned in connection with the executive branch of the government—state advertising. The tendency toward the expenditure of public funds

[1] On this problem, see Phillips Bradley, "Legislative Recording in the United States," *American Political Science Review*, February 1935, pp. 74-83; *State Manuals*, a bulletin issued by the American Legislators' Association, July 7, 1934; also I. G. Swisher, "Election Statistics in the United States," *American Political Science Review*, June 1933, pp. 422-32

[2] For a complete list of these, see the author's *American State Government*. Boston: Heath, 1936, pp. 260-1

for state advertising is probably the least defensible, socially, of any used for public relations, in the broader meaning of that term; such expenditures have been designed to do two things: attract settlers, and attract tourists. For the first purpose, the states have sought to show, through the publications of their departments of agriculture or immigration and development, their remarkable advantages for industrial sites or as places of residence. The healthful climate, the scenic grandeur, the fertile soil, and other advantages are extolled, and the state is pictured as a land flowing with milk and honey. For the second purpose, the states have emphasized the unexcelled opportunities for spending one's money while on vacation. The passing of the frontier, the drastic curtailment of immigration, the advent of the depression, and the development in the nation of what the economists call economic maturity, have stayed the further extension of the first, but publicity bureaus are again very active in a number of states—as they were before the depression—in their effort to exploit their climate and natural recreational advantages in order to attract tourists and vacationists. The State of New York, those of New England, and those of the West whose physiographic features permit this type of exploitation, have been most active, but there is little that is constructive or of significant value in this type of activity. In New England, the work has been put on a cooperative basis by establishment of the New England Council.

Public reporting refers to the methods by which the official acts of public officers are made known to the members of the public. These methods may be either formal or informal, the former consisting of official, printed reports and publications, while the latter may consist of news releases, addresses by department officials on the public platform or by radio, the use of slides and motion pictures, displays at fairs and exhibitions, et cetera. In the present discussion, we will be concerned chiefly with the official reports and publications of the various state departments, including such

items as regular reports—either annual or biennial; regular bulletins—weekly, monthly, or quarterly; special bulletins and reports.[3] The term public reporting is here interpreted as being applicable to any important executive department or agency, although among students of public administration it has sometimes been technically restricted to apply only to the fiscal officers of the government.

Finally, the term public relations is used to apply to those activities of the departments of government which are designed to inform citizens of the nature and scope of the services rendered, and to secure an active and intelligent cooperation on the part of the public, with a view to making these services more effective. In this process, the devices used in formal public reporting are important, but only with those elements of the population which are best educated, and whose regular duties make necessary the use of correct information with regard to public affairs. Most of these activities are directed, through the usual channels of communication, toward the rank and file of the people, who are not primarily interested in government. Under this heading may be included press releases, public and radio addresses, the use of motion pictures, general publicity campaigns, as well as appeals made to children in the public schools. This work of public relations is concerned with understanding and good will, with the cultivation of a favorable disposition on the part of the public toward the department or agency in question. Such an agency may have the legal power to do things which it would be most unwise to undertake without public support. The elimination of bovine tuberculosis, for instance, is a splendid thing, but unless the farmers who own the cows understand this and are convinced that it is true, there is likely to be opposition to the making of the tests, and to the state department of agriculture which sponsors them. Years of patient effort may be necessary to overcome such opposition.

[3] Many of the paragraphs which follow were used in an address before a joint meeting of the American Library Association, Public Documents Section, and the American Association of State Librarians, Richmond, May 14, 1936

The chief types of official, printed reports and publications of the state departments are, as we have seen, regular reports, regular bulletins, and special bulletins and reports. It is desirable that some attempt now be made to examine these forms, and make some inquiry regarding their use. Regular reports of departments should be prepared and published, either annually or biennially, their frequency depending upon the nature of the service and the length of the fiscal period upon which the state operates. Considerations of so-called economy should not be permitted to prevent the publication of such reports, for reports prepared and not published are of very little value, even to the department itself. On the other hand, properly prepared reports are a valuable source of information to officers and employees of the department, to those in other departments, to officials in the same department in other states, and to a certain portion of the public.

The size, style, and appearance of these reports are matters of some importance. Years ago, some departments in many states were accustomed to the regular printing of huge reports containing vast quantities of miscellaneous and undigested material, much of it statistical. The cost was enormous, and far out of proportion to the value of the reports. They were unattractive and even forbidding in appearance, the printing was poor, and the binding even worse. The text was poorly written, and gave no evidence of any kind of editorial supervision. This type of report has, fortunately, practically disappeared, although occasional specimens of it still turn up. The modern state department report is usually a pamphlet of moderate thickness, neatly and attractively printed, well written, and illustrated. Brightly colored paper covers have replaced the dismal black cloth with gold letters.

The frequency with which regular departmental bulletins are issued depends a good deal on the nature of the department's work and the purpose which the bulletins are designed to serve. In some departments, where the chief objective is the prompt and inexpensive dissemination of important information, a small

weekly leaflet is most effective; this is important in getting the distribution of mortality and morbidity statistics in the department of health, figures on unemployment and wage rates in the department of labor, figures on motor vehicle accidents in the department of motor vehicles, and information on crops, prices, and market conditions in the department of agriculture. In other departments—such as banking, conservation, education, or welfare—where speed is less essential, a larger and more leisurely monthly or quarterly bulletin seems more suitable.

It has been suggested that the character of the regular bulletin—whatever its frequency—depends largely upon the primary purpose for which it is issued. Many departments, especially those which find the weekly bulletin most valuable, regard it as being something in the nature of a house organ—a medium through which the officers and employees of the departments in the field may be kept in close touch with the work, and be given suggestions and pointers that will be helpful to them. The monthly and quarterly bulletins, on the other hand, publish more articles, and have a wider and more general appeal.

The size of these bulletins is a matter of no small practical importance, from a number of different points of view. The administrator is anxious to use a size that will be attractive and convenient to handle, that can be mailed without too much damage in transit, that lends itself to the presentation of the kind of data he has to present, and that above all, does not cost too much. Many health, labor, and welfare departments have met this problem for weekly or monthly bulletins by adopting a make-up with four or more pages, $8\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$, which permits two columns for textual material, and gives a large page for the presentation of tabular matter. Even when well printed, it is practically necessary to bind these bulletins, if they are to be preserved for reference; if they are mimeographed—and during the depression, mimeographed bulletins became more and more common—it is practically useless to try to keep them. If a regular report is published,

it may not be necessary to keep these bulletins, since the report will contain a record of all important activities of the department and condensed summaries of the tabular matter presented from week to week in the bulletins.

The monthly bulletins, on the other hand, are usually printed and stapled, with paper covers, on ordinary book sized pages. They are much more permanent in form and much easier to handle. Many of them contain articles valuable to the student working in some particular phase of public administration, these articles usually being prepared by members of the department and dealing with phases of the work with which they are in daily contact. In a few departments of health and labor, a combination of weekly and quarterly bulletins have been used; in such cases, the more permanent quarterly bulletin helps to solve the problem of what shall be attempted in the weekly bulletin.

The special bulletins and reports, issued occasionally by most large and well staffed departments, are commonly devoted to reporting the results of some special study or research project that has been carried on, either by a member of the department, or by some technical adviser who has been brought in on a temporary assignment for that purpose. To the student, these are in many ways the most valuable of all the publications of the departments of the state governments, but at the same time, they are probably the most difficult to collect. Many of them are published in small editions that are soon exhausted. In order to prevent overlapping and duplication in such research studies, there ought to be some more effective machinery than now exists, so far as I know, for the interchange of publications of this character. It takes a long time for such items to be listed in the Library of Congress *Check-list of State Publications*; for the student of state government who wants to be sure of having brought to his attention the most recent publications in his field, the weekly list of *Recent Publica-*

tions on Legislative Problems, sent out by the American Legislators' Association in Chicago, is much more valuable.[4]

In nearly all of these departmental publications, the administrator with scholarly training and some ideals as a scientist, is constantly torn between two conflicting desires. He is, on the one hand, anxious to have the published work of his department of a character that will bear the scrutiny of experts in the field—in his own state and elsewhere—and, on the other, to avoid publication of material so technical and so difficult that none but the expert can understand it or benefit from it. In their effort to steer a middle course, many departments actually publish material which is neither scientific nor popular. They have not learned that it is impossible to jazz up science, or to make "popular" material—however valuable it may be to the public—seem scientifically acceptable to the expert. Many departments have been able to arrive at a working solution of this problem by using their regular bulletins for popular material, and reserving the results of their scientific inquiries for publication in their special bulletins.

CONTROL OF PUBLIC REPORTING

Modern methods of state fiscal control have made practically inevitable the development of some central supervision of departmental printing and publication. Such supervision may take the form of control over expenditures for printing and publicity, of control over the content of the material issued, or a combination of the two. One may find the power of supervision vested in an agency like the Massachusetts Commission on Administration and Finance; the Bureau of Publications in the Department of Property and Supplies in Pennsylvania; or the Supervisor of Documents in the Bureau of Printing, Department of Finance, in California. He may find the state letting out its work under contract, as is done in Illinois, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania,

[4] The following are fairly recent examples of the type of study here referred to: J. Perry Horlacker, *The Results of Workmens' Compensation in Pennsylvania* (State Department of Labor and Industry, Harrisburg, 1934); Paul T. Stafford, *State Welfare Administration in New Jersey* (State Department of Institutions and Agencies, Trenton, 1934)

and many other states; or he may find the state doing its own printing in its own plant, as in California and Kansas.[5]

In 1922, the General Court of Massachusetts passed an Act Establishing the Commission on Administration and Finance, which Dr. W. F. Willoughby, eminent authority in the field of public administration, called the best for the purpose enacted in any state. This act, which has been widely copied, provided that the Commission so established should be organized in three bureaus: a controller's bureau, a budget bureau, and a purchasing bureau. "There shall also be established directly under the commission a division of personnel and standardization, in charge of a director of personnel and standardization." A later section lists the powers and duties of this division, among which is the following: "To supervise the printing of the Commonwealth." To this end, an elaborate and effective system of supervision and control has been established—a system which has, in many respects, been closely copied in the neighboring State of Connecticut and elsewhere.

Under this system, no document may be published without the sanction and approval of this central agency—in fact, this is always noted in two lines which appear at the bottom of the title page of each document: *Publication of this document approved by the Commission on Administration and Finance.* Each document has a P.D. (Public Document) number, as well as an account number for the office records, and symbols indicating the number of copies ordered, and date of the order. Regular reports keep the same P.D. numbers from year to year.[6] The system both is and is not a form of censorship of the work of the various departments concerned. It does represent censorship in that the Commission on

[5] On this question, see Estal E. Sparlin's *The Administration of Public Printing in the United States* (University of Missouri Studies, Columbia, 1937). This excellent study is the first published analysis of public printing in a number of different states

[6] The shortcomings of the state document systems, even in an advanced state, are illustrated by the fact that in Massachusetts, there is no *complete* check list of the publications issued by the State. "A list of the various *numbered* public documents is available in the Public Document Division, Room 118, State House, Boston, where anyone interested may consult it at any time." Quoted from the Secretary of the Commonwealth, by Edith Guerrier of the Public Library of the City of Boston, in a letter to the author, March 5, 1937

Administration and Finance may decide whether or not a proposed publication is worth printing, entirely disregarding, if it sees fit, the wishes and the judgment of the department concerned. But in another sense, the Commission does not censor the reports it accepts for publication—that is to say, the department writes its own report, and the Commission does not undertake to revise it. The central agency—not the department—has charge of the distribution of documents.

An interesting feature of the system is the effort made to avoid waste by keeping only active names on the mailing lists for the various reports. There is a complete willingness to mail reports annually to those desiring them, but no permanent mailing lists are maintained. A double card is inclosed with each report mailed out; the recipient of the report fills out half of this card—if he so desires—and returns it to the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth. The bother and expense to the recipient of the report are negligible; the aggregate saving resulting to the Commonwealth is indeed considerable. Cooperation of the Post Office Department may be enlisted, as a means of preventing loss of documents, by guaranteeing return postage.

In other states, the system is different. In Pennsylvania, for instance, the departments may print anything they like, in any form they like, as long as they stay within their budget allocations for printing costs. The Bureau of Publications, however, in the Department of Property and Supplies has full control over the actual printing; it lets the contract, sees the material through the press, and has charge of its distribution. There is a state law to the effect that no document costing more than five cents to produce, may be distributed free of charge. This system resembles that in use in California, which, according to the Director, operates in a fashion similar to the Office of the Superintendent of Documents in the Federal Government. Classified price lists of publications are issued from time to time; some states accept stamps for small amounts, while others do not. The refusal of stamps creates a serious obstacle to the proper distribution of documents,

for no one likes to write a check or secure a money order for a remittance of a few cents.

It is certain that no state has gone farther than Massachusetts in the development of an efficient, centralized system for the handling of its regular printed material. Other states have gone part way, some of them establishing state printing boards, but the reactions of department officials who have to deal with these boards are not very encouraging; they criticize the absence of a systematic budget for the publications program of each department, and the lack of provision for maps, scientific publications, and other items.[7] In favor of a centralized control, it may be said that it is more economical, largely preventing haphazard and wasteful expenditures for public printing; that it is a means of avoiding duplication of effort, and the waste resulting therefrom; that it encourages greater care and consideration on the part of department heads, who know that they will be called upon to defend their proposals before a reluctant if not a hostile board. Among the disadvantages, may be noted the fact that any such system may lack understanding and sympathy for the well-considered point of view of department officers; that it may cause unnecessary loss of time in getting out material; that the procedure may become too complicated, and bound up with "red tape."

There has been much discussion of the relative merits of the system of contracts for state printing versus a state-owned and state-operated printing plant. On the one side, it is claimed that the work will not be done as cheaply, as efficiently, or as well in a government-owned plant, and that the government has no right to invade a legitimate field of private endeavor, thereby removing from private business a large volume of printing. On the other hand, it is argued that substantial savings are possible through a government-owned plant, and that there is no need for the states paying, in addition to the actual costs of materials and labor, the element of profit which enters into all contracts for printing with private concerns. In support of the latter position, one can

[7] Letters to the author from department heads in Indiana, Iowa, and other states

point to the Government Printing Office in Washington, and to the successful operation of such plants in California and Kansas. It is also true that some of the states have undertaken somewhat similar business enterprises in other fields, and that they have operated them successfully, and that excessive printing costs under contract arrangements may interfere with the efforts of departments to secure necessary or desirable printed materials.

LESS FORMAL METHODS OF REPORTING

Our discussion so far has been confined to the more formal methods of public reporting; we now turn to consideration of some of the less formal methods, such as press releases, speeches on the public platform and by radio, exhibits and displays, et cetera. Some states centralize the work of handling press releases; Pennsylvania has done this for years, issuing weekly to the newspapers of the state a clipsheet known as the *Capitol News*.

New York has an interesting and commendable method of distributing data of interest to businessmen throughout the state. Under the provisions of a statute passed in 1928, the Secretary of State publishes and distributes the *New York State Bulletin* twice a month. The statute prescribes definitely the nature of the contents of this bulletin, which includes the following items: the funds of the state, showing with what banks and trust companies state funds are deposited, and in what amounts; balances of departments and institutions; condition of banks, trust companies, and private bankers; state notices regarding dealers in securities; regulations on weights and measures; and notices to bidders. The *Bulletin* will be sent free to those who are interested in any of the subjects on which reports are given, and of course, to the press. Departments not included in this service use the usual press releases, such as are common in agriculture, health, labor, welfare, and other departments.

In many departments, extensive use is made of opportunities for members of the staff to address public meetings—meetings of businessmen, luncheon clubs, church groups, parent-teacher

associations, and other ready-made audiences. Department officers rarely lose an opportunity to appear before convention audiences, especially when the group has a major interest lying within the scope of the department's activity. Where suitable arrangements can be made conveniently, such addresses are likely to be broadcast, sometimes over a local station, and at others, where the speaker is an important personage, over a state-wide network. Departments of agriculture frequently arrange daily broadcasts of crop and market information, either from the state capital or from the state agricultural college. The department of conservation usually attempts, through the medium of radio, to enlist the cooperation of the public during the hunting season. Departments of highways broadcast information with regard to travelling conditions, particularly in winter, and departments of health often make extensive use of radio facilities.

It would seem that motion pictures would be helpful in many departments in placing before the public vital information, but little use has been made of this medium, with the possible exception of health films used in schools, conservation films used with hunting clubs, highway-safety films used at automobile shows and other gatherings of motorists, and agricultural films exhibited at fairs and farm shows. These films get a very limited distribution, among highly specialized audiences, for commercial exhibitors show little disposition to use them. The problem of making suitable films is a difficult one for a department, since some officials see in this device an opportunity for personal publicity, of value politically.

The departments of agriculture, conservation, education, health, highways, and welfare are frequently able to arrange exhibits and displays suitable for presentation at state and county fairs, farm shows, conventions, et cetera. In connection with such exhibits, representatives of the department are present, to meet the public, answer questions, and explain the work of the department.

STANDARDS FOR THE REPORTING PROGRAM

Many states have no plan or program for public reporting, and in very few cases can the work be said to be planned adequately. Since the need for such reporting is not generally recognized, it is not surprising that this phase of governmental activity suffered early and severely from budget cuts during the depression. Here was an easy and obvious place to cut expenses, with no organized lobby to protest. These cuts have been only partially restored—if, indeed, they have been restored at all.

It is now proposed to inquire what the purposes of public reporting ought to be, what some of the characteristics of an ideal program might be, and what major difficulties are likely to be experienced in carrying it out. Since the whole subject is so new and heretofore unexplored, since extensive research will be required on all of these questions before more adequate answers can be given, the following are merely suggestions.

An informed citizenry is widely recognized as essential if democracy is to function successfully, but, as everyone knows, the public business has in recent years become extremely technical. Under these circumstances, an adequate program of public reporting is essential to assist the citizen and to simplify his problems as a voter. It is also essential if a department is to have the active and intelligent support of an informed public; failing this, the department cannot avoid public resentment at well intentioned efforts which are not understood. Further, adequate reporting is necessary to stimulate popular interest in public affairs and the discussion of public issues; to strengthen the government by the development of civic cohesion, civic loyalty, and political solidarity; and finally, to develop, in the public mind, standards of performance by which the work may be measured. Some of these items may overlap to a slight extent, but they indicate in a general way the purposes which it may be hoped to accomplish by a well planned program of government reporting.

The more common problems, and the more frequent defects in governmental reporting work, revolve around such questions

as the kind or type, the form, the distribution, and the personnel engaged in the work. Professor John Dickinson observed that when government is not organized to take the lead in the task of education, the task will perforce fall into other hands; while this is true, we must be sure that the channels used by government for public information are not permitted to carry the kind of illegitimate publicity designed to promote the political fortunes of a party or a particular individual. Illustrations of such perversion are unfortunately more frequent than one might wish. The planning and execution of the publicity budget are important, both to the departments and to the public; the failure to solve any one of the problems of appearance, content, and cost may present a serious barrier to the success of a public reporting program. The problem of distribution involves the necessity for detailed knowledge of the value and limitations of each of the various media, or as they have been called, the avenues of communication; a blunder in this phase of the work may ruin the effect of the whole program.

Finally, there is the problem of personnel. The personnel ought to be, although it rarely is, given special technical training for the work; there is an all too prevalent notion that a few more or less accidental years of newspaper work constitute an adequate preparation for work in the field of governmental reporting. Nothing could be farther from the truth, although newspaper experience may be helpful. If the one who interprets a department or an agency to the public is to be able to see and understand the things in the multifarious activities of a large department, and if he is to be able to report them in a manner that will be intelligible to the layman, he must have something more than the hazy conceptions of the subject which exist in the mind of the layman for whom he writes. It may be necessary for the reporter to be somewhat superficial in his treatment, but there is no law which requires that a reporter be abysmally ignorant of the subject matter with which he must deal. Rotation in office here, as elsewhere, hinders the development of any consistent program. The wide

diversity existing with regard to the position of the reporter in the governmental structure would not be a matter of so much concern, if it did not reflect a like confusion of thought as to what it was hoped or intended might be accomplished.

If one were to attempt to summarize briefly some fundamental principles that should be observed in the development of a state program of public reporting, he would probably mention first the need for a central supervisory and coordinating agency, whose policy would be to encourage and not to interfere with departmental initiative; that, both in the central agency and in the departments, the work should be under the direction of a trained and properly qualified personnel; that, in general, the objectives or purposes should be those already stated. While avoiding duplication of effort, and waste of money, the system established should make available to all departments and agencies, whenever and wherever needed (within the limits of a reasonably adequate budget), all of the media commonly used for the moulding and control of public opinion. This central agency would concern itself with the operation of the state printing plant, and with such matters as the appearance, form, content, and cost of the published materials; it would make definite effort, in the matter of distribution, to reach the right individuals in connection with each main purpose to be served. There would be an absence of ballyhoo of the state and its resources, and of misrepresentation and exaggeration; but careful effort would be made to render a suitable reply to every legitimate inquiry regarding the state, its government, its resources, its people, and its economic, social, and cultural life. This information service might resemble somewhat the public information service operated for some time in the Federal Government by the National Emergency Council. By such a procedure, a state government, its departments and agencies, can get their message to the people and thereby serve the cause of democratic government.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR RESEARCH

The reader who has followed this discussion with the problem of research in mind has no doubt noted numerous important questions with regard to which our present information is wholly inadequate. For convenience, some of them are brought together here. Can we establish objective standards for the evaluation of state reporting, similar to those that have been worked out for municipal reporting? Can we get specific information on printing costs and effectiveness of operation in states with state printing plants, and can we obtain for comparison, parallel data from comparable states using the contract system? Should the larger states own and operate radio stations, making their facilities available to all departments and agencies? This might give opportunity for educational broadcasts from the state university as well as for more adequate departmental reporting. In addition, such a station might be valuable in enlisting public support in law enforcement work; some states now pay large sums annually to private corporations in connection with the operation of a teletype system. Could these expenditures be saved, or reduced by such a method?

What has been done in the standardization of statistical procedures, in the various fields of state administrative activity? The development of the registration areas has standardized vital statistics; the United States Employment Service has been cooperating with the states for some time, as has the United States Crop Reporting Service. The standardization of statistical procedure in other fields might facilitate the comparison of conditions and costs in different states. Can we work out, on the basis of such standards for public reporting as have been suggested, standards for budgeting for the reporting program? What portion of the total appropriation for a given department is spent for reporting work in a representative group of states? And, on the basis of a minimum program, how much ought to be spent? How can we bring the ordinary legislator to see that such expenditures are legitimate and proper? In the last few years, this type of work has been enormously expanded in the Federal government; can

we plan for its development in the states and local units, with a trained personnel for the work, and, if so, what kind of training is required?

If we could have some studies of public reporting in individual states,[8] some comparative studies of the work done by a given department in a number of representative states, the results might be most illuminating. Likewise, it would be helpful if we might have studies of the use made of particular media by a given department in a group of representative states, or studies of the use made of a given medium by all of the departments of a particular state. So little has been done and so much needs to be known in this field, before we have any adequate basis for the proper management of public reporting, that the opportunities for research are limited only by the ingenuity of the investigator in finding new points of approach.

[8] As this article goes to press, a reprint of Fred E. Merwin's "Public Relations and the State Government," in *Journalism Quarterly*, December 1937, comes to my desk; it deals with the problem as studied in Wisconsin

ATROCITY PROPAGANDA AND THE IRISH REBELLION

By JAMES MORGAN READ

This is a case study of atrocity propaganda of three centuries ago. It is significant for several reasons, including its relevance to horror stories broadcast during the World War and during recent incidents in Ethiopia, Spain, and the Far East. Dr. Read is Assistant Professor of History at the University of Louisville. He is a graduate of Dickinson College and received his doctorate from the University of Marburg. While in Germany studying under Wilhelm Mommsen, he became interested in atrocity-story technique, and later carried on further investigation in this field while serving as research assistant to Bernadotte Schmitt at the University of Chicago. He is now engaged upon an extensive analysis of atrocity stories in the World War.

The artificial excitation of public opinion by "atrocity stories" was not an invention of World War propaganda artists. Mr. Lasswell says that the atrocity-story method of arousing hate "has been employed with unvarying success in every conflict known to man." At first glance this sweeping generalization may seem to stretch the bow of veracity overmuch, but test cases taken quite at random yield a surprising amount of confirmatory data.

One interesting test case involves a conflict that came to a head nearly three centuries ago—the Irish Rebellion preceding the outbreak of the English Civil Wars in 1642. At a time when both sides were striving for popular support the value of manipulating public opinion was dawning on the minds of men in England. As a consequence they turned to the printing press; whence were born the first newspapers. Significantly enough, the first modern atrocity-story propaganda is broadcast by the vehicles of nascent journalism.

The atrocity story is now a recognized political implement and has been defined by the social scientist. The definition is as yet imperfect, but it is significant that a lengthy article has been devoted to this subject in the new *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences.*

Here is to be found H. N. Brailsford's significant comment: "The chief rôle of atrocities in history, however, has been the stimulation of warlike passions. The cutting off of the ears of a certain Captain Jenkins drove Walpole into the last of the British wars against Spain; the atrocities of the Terror excused the monarchial combinations against revolutionary France; the ill usage of the natives by Dutch farmers helped bring about the Boer War." When sufficient test cases have been studied, the rôle of the atrocity story as an instrument of belligerent policy may be seen even more clearly and completely.

An analysis of the dissemination of atrocity stories during the World War might result in a pattern something like this:

A. Origin
  1. Actual excesses.
  2. Exaggerations and multiplications.
  3. Deliberate fabrication.

B. Circulation
  1. Government reports.
  2. Newspapers, magazine stories.
  3. Individual descriptions.

C. Use
  1. Pure but aimless sensationalism.
  2. To bring about hostilities.
  3. To maintain martial morale.
  4. To justify large indemnities.

This same pattern fits perfectly the use of atrocity stories during the Irish Rebellion, and the ensuing English Civil Wars.

The first step in an analysis of this propaganda calls for determination of the origins of the atrocity stories emanating from Ireland along with the news of this rebellion. The task is not difficult. Almost a year prior to the usually accepted date for the outbreak of hostilities in the Puritan Revolt, the Irish uprising began—on October 23, 1641. Excesses did take place—in great number and in most gruesome fashion. This cannot be denied, nor is it surprising that a revolt against the English oppressors thirty years after the Plantation of Ulster should have been attended with horrible cruelties. Nevertheless it is not unimportant to note that estimates of the number who succumbed to massacre

and murder in the first six months of the Irish disturbance have varied from 200,000 (Sir John Temple, writing in 1646) to 8,000 (Prendergast, writing in 1870).

Having established the fact that there were excesses, and that they were greatly exaggerated and multiplied, we can proceed to the important question of "fabrication." The process of sifting evidence on this vital point will necessarily shed more light on the first two points as well, i.e., the factual basis and relative exaggeration of these tales.

THE VOLUME OF EVIDENCE

There is an overwhelming mass of evidence to be sifted; thirty-three folio volumes of closely written manuscript are preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, containing the sworn statements of English Protestants concerning the Irish excesses of 1641-43. They were taken by officials delegated by the royal commission[1] to this task at various times during 1641-43, and by Puritan commissioners who gathered like testimony in the years 1652-54. Altogether there are statements from "a thousand or fifteen hundred" deponents. For almost three centuries now the debate has raged over the reliability of these depositions. They were accepted as unimpeachable by the earliest historians, and by a host of more modern writers such as Froude, Hume, and Macaulay, who have based their accounts on the works of these men. In the case of all these writers, in the words of Froude himself, "not evidence but sympathy or inclination determines the historical beliefs of most of us."[2]

Others have regarded these "proofs" of Irish atrocities with considerable skepticism. Such a one is Dr. Ferdinand Warner, a clergyman of the Established Church in Ireland, who has written a *History of the Rebellion and Civil War in Ireland* (2 vols., Dublin, 1768) and whose general objectivity is admitted, even by those who disagree with him on this particular controversy. Warner disposes of the depositions in these words:

[1] See account of the Jones Commissions below
[2] J. A. Froude, *The English in Ireland*. New York: Scribner's, 1888. Vol. I, pp. 111-12

> But so many of their sayings . . . are so ridiculous, or incredible, or contradictory to one another, as show plainly that they spoke what their own, or the different passions and sentiments of their leaders prompted. . . . Upon the whole there is no credit to be given to anything that was said by those people, which had not other evidence to confirm it.

More modern authorities have also subjected the Dublin collection of atrocity stories to a withering fire of criticism. J. T. Gilbert, who was employed by the Historical MSS. Commission to report upon the depositions, has reported them to be "utterly untrustworthy and invalid on the face of them." Furthermore, J. P. Prendergast, whose word carries weight as one appointed by the government to calendar the earlier Irish MSS., is convinced of the utter falsity of most of the "facts" given in the depositions.[3] Lecky has subjected the depositions to the most searching analysis and comes to the conclusion that Rushworth, Borlase, Temple, etc., were led far astray by relying on the Dublin documents.

> No one, I think, can compare the pages of these historians with the pictures of the rebellion furnished in the narrative of Clogy, in the correspondence of Ormond, Clanricarde, and the Lords Justices, and in the report and depositions of the earlier commissions I have cited, without perceiving the enormous palpable exaggerations they display, and the absolute incredibility of many of their narratives. Hearsay evidence of the loosest kind was admitted. . . . It must be remembered that twenty or thirty depositions sometimes referred to a single crime.[4]

Defense of the depositions has been undertaken by M. A. Hickson in two volumes: *Ireland in the Seventeenth Century or The Massacres of 1641* (London: Longman's, 1884). Miss Hickson reproduced some two hundred of the depositions, in most cases greatly condensed, but giving in every case the essential facts and most gruesome details. Miss Hickson admits that there were some depositions ("two or three") which were "unmistakably exaggerated and untruthful," such as one which asserted that an Irish commander was in the habit of breakfasting on the heads of murdered Protestants, and another which claimed that a certain

[3] J. P. Prendergast, *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*. London: Longman's, 1870

[4] W. E. H. Lecky, *A History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*. New York: Appleton, 1878-90. Vol. I, pp. 41, 61

Irish woman had grown fat from the eating of many Protestants. But on the whole Miss Hickson (whose conclusions are enthusiastically approved by Froude in the preface) thinks that the thirty-three volumes in question contain irrefutable evidence of the fact that great numbers of atrocities were committed. Gilbert and Warner had based their skepticism partly on the fact that many of the depositions were almost totally scratched out by the pen of the official who wrote them, amounting to a tacit confession that much of the evidence was worthless. Miss Hickson points out, however, that the lines in question do not really cancel anything.[5] In no case was the *jurat coram nobis* crossed out and in only one case was the account of a murder eliminated. Facsimiles of two such depositions would seem to show that Miss Hickson has a good case.

Nevertheless she has not proved that all the atrocities related before these commissioners took place, whether they expressly destined them to be included in the copies sent to King and Parliament or not. Here we are willy-nilly forced back on internal evidence. The following instances,[6] chosen from Miss Hickson's account at random, demonstrate the tenuous nature of the evidence on which atrocity stories were based:

> Ambrose Bedell, gent., son of the late Rev. Father in God, William, Lord Bishop of Kilmore, deceased, duly sworn and examined . . . and further saith, *that he was told by Philip Mac Gawran, a rebel,* that his brother, Shane, did stab and run through with a shean one Peter Crosse . . . and at the same time the said Shane did cut off the arm of the wife of the said Peter, she being very old, near seventy or eighty years of age; and that he then threw her on the body of her murdered husband, and cast a bank of earth over them both, so that she was thereby smothered or buried alive.... Jurat 26 Oct. 1642. John Watson, Will. Aldrich.

> William Dethick, late of Killvallehagh . . . gent. a British Protestant.... Also this deponent saith that after the battle of Newton, . . . some of the county having the fortune to return home, found in the town of

[5] She calls them lines of abbreviation, which were usually drawn over lists of stolen or lost goods. As these lists were excessively long and repetitious, the official copyist was directed to omit them when making transcripts of the most important data for transmission to the King

[6] The italics are mine in the following examples

Killarney many old decrepit men and women and young children, Protestants, to the number of sixteen, who could not get into some castle for refuge thereabouts, and all those persons were taken by the Mac Gartheys and their followers in those parts, and being stripped, were first whipped up and down from one end of the town to the other, then they were taken altogether and a great hole being made for the purpose, they were thrown into it, and so buried alive. *This the deponent saw not with his own eyes, but he dares avouch it for truth, because he hath heard it most confidently related*. . . . Jurat coram nobis. 17 March 1643. Phil. Bisse, James Wallis.

Rose Ennis, widow, Dublin, age 36 or thereabouts. . . . And further saith, *that she credibly heard* that the Irish rebels, about the same time, had half killed many English people, and buried them alive, eight within one grave at Rebane. . . . Sworn before us 16 April 1653. William Gilbert, Thomas Richardson.

Deposition of Jane Brown, wife of Wm. Brown of Kilvarnet, in the county of Sligo, . . . And this deponent saith, that whilst she was in the said castle of Temple Home, *she was credibly informed* that some of the said captains . . . did at Rebane . . . most bloodily and barbarously wound, cut and stab six or seven women, British Protestants of the Scottish and English nations, and having thus cut and wounded them, did then and there throw them with one young child into a ditch or pit, and covered them, being alive, with earth and stones, by means whereof the said women and child died. Jurat 8. Jan. 1641. Hen. Jones, Hen. Bereton.

That such hearsay evidence was passed over by Miss Hickson without further comment is all the more remarkable since in one case at least she deliberately omitted such testimony.[7] Furthermore it should be noted that the depositions given by Miss Hickson are by no means as blood-curdling as those on which the contemporary reports are based. (See Jones, Temple, Clarke below.) This may result from a process of judicious selection; also, however, from the fact that Miss Hickson drew the larger proportion of her material from the later (1652-54) depositions which naturally were less hair-raising in their details than the testimony taken in the heat of the struggle. She also considered these (which apparently form the bulk of the Dublin collection) the most authentic, despite the obvious criticism to be made of testimony

[7] Hickson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 368

given ten or twelve years after the event. This is not meant to give the impression that Miss Hickson's selection of documents makes mild reading, but on the whole the most revolting and improbable atrocities (such as the boiling of a little boy) are not included in the Hickson account, although they are to be found in the Dublin documents. It is probably true that such stories were not so much in circulation by 1652. They had done their work in 1641-46, as we shall see.

SPREADING THE STORIES

Whether these thirty-three volumes of records contain true or false evidence on atrocities, even more important for the purposes of this study is the question: how many of these stories got to England? A satisfactory answer to this question will in turn tell us more about the exaggeration and fabrication of these tales. We have it on the word of J. R. Green that the depositions were exploited in England.

> Tales of horror and outrage such as maddened our own England when they reached us from Cawnpore came day after day over the Irish Channel. Soon depositions told how husbands were cut to pieces in the presence of their wives, their children's brains dashed out before their faces, their daughters brutally violated and driven out to perish, frozen in the woods.

Contemporary accounts also show that Parliament ("the sounding board of the English nation") and King were being reminded constantly of the alleged terror in Ireland. As early as November 5, 1641, the Lords Justices wrote a letter to the King and one to the Commons in which it was stated that: "the rebels most barbarously not only murdered, but, as we are informed, hewed some of them to pieces." Ten days later the two Houses of the Irish Parliament (representing of course the Anglo-Protestant landholders) resolved on a protestation against "those who . . . have . . . committed other cruel and inhumane outrages and acts of hostility within the realm." On December 1, a petition

was presented to the English Parliament signed by the Irish Council:

> Their tyranny is so great, that they put both man, woman and child that are Protestants to the sword, not sparing either age, sex, degree or reputation. They have stripped naked many Protestants, and so sent them to the city—men and women. They have ravished many virgins and women before their husbands' faces, and taken their children and dashed their brains against the wall in sight of their parents and at length destroyed them likewise without pity or humanity.

On December 12 Sir John Temple wrote to King Charles: "Thus enraged and armed by these pretences, they march on, furiously destroying all the English, sparing neither sex nor age, throughout the kingdom, most barbarously murdering them, and that with greater cruelty than ever was used among Turks and infidels...." Two weeks later a letter of the Lords Justices to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (then in England) told of an Irish priest's starting a massacre of an English garrison by "thrusting that skean into the minister's guts, and ripping up his belly, gave that as a signal to the Rebels, for falling upon the rest of the English, which they did accordingly, as soon as the minister was murdered, killing some and hanging the rest most perfidiously." On the same December 14 the following letter from Ireland was read in the English Parliament:

> All I can tell you is the miserable state we continue under, for the rebels daily increase in man and munitions in all parts, except the province of Munster, exercising all manner of cruelties, and striving who can be most barbarously exquisite in tormenting the poor Protestants, cutting off their ears, fingers, and hands, plucking out their eyes, boiling the hands of little children before their mothers' faces, stripping women naked and ripping them up....

The King was forced to take cognizance of these reports, issuing a proclamation on January 1, 1642 (n.s.), which said:

> Whereas divers lewd and wicked Persons have of late risen in Rebellion in Our Kingdom of Ireland, suprized divers of our Forts and Castles, . . . robbed and spoiled many thousands of our good Subjects of the British nation and Protestants, . . . massacred multitudes of them, imprisoned many others, . . . we therefore having taken the same into our Royal Consideration, and abhorring the wicked Disloyalty and horrible acts committed by these Persons. . . .

The people of London were also aroused to the dangers of the situation, as is proved by a humble Petition of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of London to his "most excellent Majesty" dated January 7, and Members of Parliament were not slow to remind their colleagues that these Irish atrocities might easily be repeated in England.

The most flagrant example of atrocity-story circulation by authorization of Parliament is to be found in a little volume whose title page reads: *A Remonstrance of Divers Remarkable Passages, concerning the Church and Kingdom of Ireland, Recommended by the Lords Justices, and Counsell of Ireland and Presented by Henry Jones, Doctor in Divinity, and Agent for the Minsters of the Gospel in that Kingdom. To the Honorable House of Commons in England.* This book was printed by order of Parliament in London, 1642. It contains, *inter alia,* authorizations of the Irish Council of December 23, 1641, and again of January 18, 1642 (n.s.), for investigations; the first being merely for loss of property, the second, significantly enough, also for murders, the record of which was to be preserved for "posterity."

The body of the text of Dr. Jones's *Remonstrance* is made up of a summary of the cruelties and excesses of the Irish, followed by a series of about 80 extracts from the actual depositions. For sanguinary concentration this account can hardly be surpassed, even by the Bryce Report of 1915:

> But what Pen can set forth, what Tongue express, whose Eye can read, Ear hear, or heart, without melting, consider the cruelties, more than barbarous, dayly exercised upon us by those inhumane, blood-sucking Tygers? . . .
>
> Women in child-bed thence drawn out, and cast into prison, (Q) One delivered of a childe while she was hanging. (R) One ripped up and two children taken away, and all cast unto, and eaten by swine. (S) One other stabbed in the breast her childe sucking. (T) An infant cruelly murthered, whom they found sucking his dead mother slain, by them the day before. (V) A childe of 14 years of age taken from his mother, in her flight cast into a Bogpit, and held under water while he was drowned. The forcing 40 or 50 protestants to renounce their profession and then cutting all their throats. . . .

But how can that be forgotten, or where shall it be beleeved, which we hear to have been done in the Church of Newton in the county of Fermanagh; where a child of Thomas Strettons was boyled alive in a caldron: a thing which as one bare reports, we durst not, so neither can we now with confidence enough present it to that your honorable assembly, nor can we averre it for true, otherwise than as by concurring examinations we find them solemnly deposed, whereunto we desire to be referred (N). . . .

In seeking verification of these horrible facts the reader may turn to the appendix and find the deposition of the person named in the footnotes. Such a search brings to light the following testimony[8] in support of the statements made above:

(Q) Roger Holland: And further saith, that *an owner of a Boat in Cartingford told him,* that one Mrs. Holland was hanged; and as she was hanging, was delivered of two children; and further cannot say. Jurat 4 March 1641. Wm. Aldrich, Hen. Bereton.

John Wisdome: And this deponent further saith that *Master Roger related to him that he was told by one John Babe,* an owner of a Boat in Carlingford, that Mistriss Holland was hanged at Carlingford, and delivered of a childe while hanging. Jurat 8 February 1641 coram nobis. Roger Puttock, Henry Jones.

(R) John Wisdome: And further this Examinate saith, *That he was credibly informed* by Master Franklin of Dublin, . . . That at the Newry . . . a man . . . was murthered, and his wife also having her belly ript up, and two children fell out. Jurat 8 Feb. 1641 Curam nobis. Roger Puttock, Henry Jones.

Philip Tayler: And the Deponent further saith, *That he hath credibly heard* . . . and that the Rebels aforesaid killed a Dyers wife of Rossenever at Newry, and ript up her belly, she being with childe of two children, and threw her and the children into a ditch, and this Deponent drove a Sow away that was eating one of the children. Jurat 8 Feb. 1641. William Aldrich, John Watson.

(S) John Mandefield: The Deponent being duly sworn, deposeth inter alia, That some of the Rebels in that County did strike his Wife, and stab her with a Skean in the breast, when she had a young childe sucking on her, which wound this deponent, being a Chirurgeon, with much difficulty healed. Jurat 3 Feb. 1641 coram nobis. Henry Jones, William Hitchcock.

[8] My italics

(T) Margaret Stoaks: The Said Deponent being duly sworn inter alia deposeth, That whilst she was in the said County, *she heard credibly among the Irish,* and observed by their discourse one with another, that . . . and that there was a woman, who when the said Castle was afire, let down through a Window her young childe whom she gave suck to, and after leaps out of the Window herself, which the Rebels observing, presently killed the said woman, and the next morning finding the young childe alive, sucking the dead mother's breast, they cruelly murdered the childe. Jurat coram. Gerrardo Souther.

(V) Reynold Griffith: And further saith, That neer the Newry severall Rebells took from this Deponents wife a childe of hers of 14 years of age, and drowned it in a bay or pit and held it down before her face with a sword whilst the said childe was a drowning. Jur. Jan. 6, 1641. John Sterne, Hen. Bereton.

(W) Alexander Creigchton: And this Deponent *heard it credibly reported amongst the Rebells* at Glaslogh aforesaid, that Hugh Mac o Degan Mac Guire, a priest, had done a most meritorious act in the parish of Glanally, and co. of Fermanagh in drawing betwixt 40 or 50 of the English and . . . giving them the Sacrament . . . and for fear they should fall from it and turn hereticks, he and the rest that were with him cut all their throats. . . . Jur. primo Martii 1641. John Sterne, William Hitchcock.

(N) Margaret Parkin of Newtowne: This Deponent being duely sworn and examined, deposeth inter alia, *That by the information of divers credible persons,* she understood that the Rebells boyled a young childe to death in a great Ketle, in the church at Newton aforesaid. Jur. 29 Jan. 1641. Roger Puttock, William Aldrich.

Examination of Elizabeth Bairsee of Newtown, in the County of Nagh. The Deponent being duely sworn, (inter alia) deposeth, That she *was credibly informed by a great number of people* of Newtown aforesaid, That about the 23 of October last, or since, the Rebells did boyl a childe of one John Strettons, about 12 years old, to death. Jur. 19. Jan. 1641. Roger Puttock, John Sterne.

As indicated by the italics, eight of the ten statements are based on the most flimsy kind of hearsay, second-hand information. The Jones report approaches the Bryce Report, in which the witnesses are not even named.

It is to be kept in mind, however, that this *Remonstrance* was printed in London by order of Parliament in April 1642. The Commission headed by Dr. Jones, while enjoying a changing

membership, proceeded to amass depositions which, together with those gathered by the Cromwellian justices of the peace in 1652-54, constitute the thirty-three volumes of Dublin manuscripts. Only the fragment represented by the *Remonstrance* was ever published, the rest remained in manuscript form. The material in the fragmentary *Remonstrance* was exploited by other writers to a degree and extent that finally in a letter dated April 25, 1642, the King reproached Parliament for spreading such unlikely stories:

> . . . And when we consider the many and great scandals raised upon ourselves by the report of the rebels, and not sufficiently discountenanced here, notwithstanding so many professions of ours; and had seen a book lately printed by the order of the House of Commons, intituled *A Remonstrance of Divers Remarkable Passages concerning the Church and Kingdom of Ireland,* wherein some examinations are set down, which (how improbable or impossible soever) may make an impression in the minds of our weak subjects. . . .

At the very height of the contest between King and Parliament Sir John Temple published his *History of the Irish Rebellion* (London: R. White, 1646), which was destined long to remain a "standard work." Goriness ensured it a sizeable circulation. Here is a sample of this semi-official atrocity-mongering: "Some had their Bellies ript up, and so left with their guts running about their heels. But this horrid kind of cruelty was principally reserved by these inhumane Monsters for Women, whose sexe they neither pitied nor spared, hanging up several Women, many of them great with child, whose bellies they ripped up as they hung, and so let the little Infants fall out, a course they ordinarily took with such as they found in that sad condition." This scholarly-looking work of Sir John is based on depositions which are reproduced in extract form as notes on the corresponding pages of the text. The extreme condensation of these depositions makes it almost impossible to evaluate their credibility. For example, the note on boiling of a boy says only: "This particular deposed by Margaret Parkin, as also by Elizabeth Bursell, who saith that the child was twelve years of age, being the child of Thomas Straton of Newtown, Jurat Jan. 19, 1641." But we have seen in the somewhat

longer extract given of these depositions in Jones's work, that both the ladies in question swore only that they had *heard* that this had happened. So it is with the rest of the evidence from the depositions adduced by Temple. There is no possibility of discriminating between hearsay evidence and eye-witness testimony.

PAMPHLETEERS TO BATTLE

Meanwhile these stories were being exploited by the journalists in their tracts, the antecedents of the modern newspaper. The titles of such tracts reveal their preoccupation with the dangers threatening from across the Irish Channel: *Good and Bad News from Ireland, or the taking of the Town of Kinsale from the Rebels,* London, 1642; *A Discourse between two Counsellors of State, ye one of England and the other of Ireland,* 1642. *The State of Dublin and other parts of Ireland, etc. with a strange and unheard of flocking together of several kinds of Birds over the city of Dublin on Christmas Eve last,* by T. Whitcomb, London, 1642. *An Apology made by an English Officer of Quality for leaving the Irish Wars; declaring the design now on foot to reconcile the Irish and English and expelling the Scotch, to bring the Popish forces against Parliament,* London, 1643.

Finally there must have been many accounts similar to one entitled, *A True and Credible Relation of the Massacre of the English Protestants in Ireland; by a gentleman who was eye-witness of most of the passages which he describes; who was forced, with his wife, to abandon house, estate, and county, for fear of the rebels and arrived in London, Jan. 16, 1642.* The writer says:

> . . . They have stripped ladies and gentle women, virgins and babies, old and young, naked as ever they were born, turning them into the open fields . . . as for the Protestant ministers, they hang them up, then cut off their heads, afterwards quarter them, and then dismenber them, stopping their mouths wherewith. Many of their wives have been ravished in their sight before the multitude, stripping them naked to the view of their wicked companions, taunting and mocking them with reproachful words, sending them away in such shameless manner, that most of them have died for grief. . . ."

[9] Froude, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 112

One is reminded of Mr. Lasswell's remarks on atrocity stories:

> Stress can always be laid upon the wounding of women, children, old people, priests and nuns, and upon sexual enormities, mutilated prisoners and mutilated non-combatants. These stories yield a crop of indignation against the fiendish perpetrators of their dark deeds, and satisfy certain powerful, hidden impulses. A young woman ravished by the enemy yields secret satisfaction to a host of vicarious ravishers on the other side of the border. Hence, perhaps the popularity and ubiquity of such stories.[10]

An account of the Irish atrocities by a London clergyman, Samuel Clarke, in his book, *A Generall Martyrologie* (1651), is perhaps even more vicious than the *True and Credible Relation*. Some of the stories cannot be repeated but the illustrations Clarke uses are suggested by the copy here appended of the "Tenth Figure."

Other reasons for the exaggeration and circulation of the Irish atrocity stories have been set forth at various times. Nalson, for instance, claimed that the "Faction" in Parliament exploited the rebellion in Ireland for a very definite purpose—to get the militia into their own hands. All sorts of rumors and apprehensions were therefore spread abroad in England to set the nation aflame. When the "Faction" broke into rebellion themselves they thus had control of the military arm for their own "nefarious ends."[11] The very sequence of events from October 23, 1642, to August 22, 1642, speaks for the assumption that the Irish terror was exploited to the utmost by the irreconcilables of the opposition forces. Color and substance were added to their insinuations by the claim of one of the Irish rebel leaders (Sir Phelim O'Neill) that he had a secret agreement with the King. The claim was probably baseless, but it was taken up zealously by the Parliamentarians and used with great effect to discredit the King.[12] The use of atrocity stories imported from foreign lands to produce belligerent sentiments is fairly evident here as it is also to the his-

[10] H. D. Lasswell, *Propaganda Technique in the World War*. New York: Knopf, 1927, p. 82

[11] John Nalson, *Impartial Collection of the Great Affairs of State*. London: S. Mearne, 1682-83. Vol. II, introduction

[12] Sir Richard Cox, *Hibernia Anglicana*. London: J. Watts, 1689-90

From "A Generall Martyrologie" (1651)

torian who analyzes the effect of German atrocity stories imported from Belgium into the United States in the years 1914-17.

LATER USE OF THE STORIES

When the Civil War in England had actually broken out, the Irish atrocity stories were further exploited. The King wanted to bring about a cessation of hostilities with the Irish, in order to augment his forces by Royalists who would be free to leave Ireland and join the Royalist camp in England. To defeat this design, it is charged, the Parliamentarians encouraged the most dreadful charges against the Irish. The cessation was not prevented, but the stories had not yet outlived their usefulness. In 1646 the King was about to conclude a peace with the Confederate Catholics, in order to be able to employ these forces also against his opponents. Once again the propaganda machine was set in motion, and Sir John Temple came out with his horrendous *History of the Irish Rebellion*. Its purpose was to obstruct the peace, keep up morale.

Meanwhile the wars against the Irish were costing money. It is probably not assuming too much to assert that the many tracts, reports, and depositions on the Irish atrocities made bankers all the more willing to lend their money to help suppress such fiendish rebels. This use of atrocity propaganda was appreciated by the Irish at the time. In criticizing Jones's *Remonstrance* one Irish tract claims: ". . . The report of their killing women, or men desiring quarter, and such like unhumanities, were inventions to draw contributions and make the enemy odious."

The making of the enemy odious was moreover an essential part of the program of confiscation of the Irish estates from the time that Parliament hit upon the idea of distributing "many millions of Acres of the Rebel Lands" to "divers worthy and well-affected Persons." The point needs no further elaboration. Perhaps it is not true, as has been charged, that the commissioners sent over in 1652-54 to take more depositions, were really trying to justify the Cromwellian Settlement. It would, however, be hard to convince an Irishman.

MONEY SPENT FOR PLAY: AN INDEX OF OPINION

By JULIUS WEINBERGER

Mr. Weinberger (B.Sc., College of the City of New York, 1913) is a radio engineer by profession. He has been associated with the Radio Corporation of America for the past twenty years. From 1919 to 1934 he was in charge of technical radio research, managing the RCA Research Department during part of that period. He has had numerous patents issued to him for radio devices and is the author of a number of scientific articles in radio journals. In recent years his attention has been directed toward investigations of social and economic factors affecting the radio industry. The contribution which follows is one of the results of an economic research dealing with the general subject of recreation, of which radio is a specific form.

Students of the social sciences have always been interested in the manner in which the public occupies its leisure time, and the literature of sociology and economics contains a growing number of volumes or papers devoted to this subject. Since two of the major present-day sources of recreation are also vital factors in public opinion dissemination—namely radio and motion pictures—an investigation of the trend of public attitudes toward these and other forms of recreation should be of value to the readers of this journal.

In the present study, the writer has attempted to determine quantitatively the trends of American public attitudes toward many different forms of recreation over a considerable period of time (1909-35).

In the investigation of attitudes, a method which is frequently employed is the eliciting of opinions, by means of questionnaires containing scales developed according to psychological techniques. However, it may be reasonable to assume that behavior frequently (though perhaps not always) is a better index of attitude than opinion, and behavior in the form of expenditures for a given commodity or service should be a dependable index of the attitude

toward it. Thus a comprehensive long-term study of public attitudes toward recreation can be made by studying the expenditures of the public for the many different forms of recreational goods and services. When the expenditures for a given year are expressed as a percentage of the national income for that year, we have a reliable gauge of the strength of the impulse which caused the expenditure to be made. If a man spends a considerable percentage of his income for a desired object, he must want it pretty badly; and when we find that a considerable percentage of the national income (which is the sum total of all individual incomes) has been expended for a given service, the same conclusion can be drawn for the public considered as a group.

This method of investigation has obvious advantages over the questionnaire or straw-ballot method. It depends on statistical data already collected for census or other purposes, it is inexpensive, and when the data are properly interpreted it can be made to yield a great deal of reliable information.

METHOD OF STUDY

In carrying out the present investigation, the author first obtained data of the national income[1] for the period 1909-35. The objects of recreational expenditures were then divided into three general classes, and each of these into its respective component items. The expenditures themselves were determined by a variety of methods—partly from census or other government data, partly from estimates made in consultation with reliable experts in the various fields, and partly from estimates of the author, using methods which were regarded as statistically dependable. Finally the percentage of national income or percentage expended in each class for given objects or services was computed to form the "strength of impulse" index referred to. These percentages, plotted

[1] Sources of national income data: Wilford I. King, *The National Income and Its Purchasing Power*, New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1930; *National Income in the United States, 1929-1935*, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1936; *Cleveland Trust Company's "Business Bulletin"* (issues of October 15, 1935, and May 15, 1936)

in chart form, indicate the change in behavior over a period of years, and thus establish trends in the public's attitudes.

The importance of recreational expenditure is indicated by the fact that, according to the writer's estimates, the American public in 1935 spent 8.12 per cent of the national income on leisure-time pursuits, as compared with 25.9 per cent for food and beverages, 16 per cent for housing essentials, and 13.7 per cent for attire. Thus, more than one-sixth of the national income which remained available, after living necessities had been purchased, was spent for recreation or amusement in some form. We spent one-third more for recreation in that year than the Federal government did for recovery and relief; more than the Federal Treasury collected from all tax sources; and an amount equivalent to the sums paid out to workers and investors by each of such major industrial divisions as transportation, finance, and agriculture. Yet 1935 was a comparatively moderate year in terms of such expenditures, for in 1929 these were 50 per cent higher.

FORMS OF RECREATION

The division of the various forms of recreation into the two broad classes of active and passive[2] is of interest from the psychological standpoint, but does not lend itself well to the quantitative investigation of expenditures or to a clear exposition of trends. For this purpose the author decided to use an economic classification, which would show up the character of consumers' expenditures in a way that was closely related to certain motivating influences. The grouping decided upon is given below:

1. *Recreational Products:* This includes all *goods* purchased purely for recreational purposes. In general, the prices of these goods are substantial; for the most part they are durable and therefore are not replaced at frequent intervals. The most important are bought for home entertainment, such as radios, phono-

[2] In the passive type, the participants are spectators, listeners, or readers, and physical energy is not required to any considerable extent. Watching motion pictures, listening to radio, reading, or driving an automobile for recreational touring are largely passive in nature. Active recreation is that which involves indulgence in athletics and games

graphs, and pianos, and the impulse to buy goods of this type is closely related to the impulses which cause people to attempt to make their home-life more attractive. Less important types (in terms of expenditures) are those relating to outdoor recreation, such as sporting goods, firearms, and boats.[3]

2. *Recreational Services:* This includes all activities in which recreational facilities are provided for the participants, and the purchase of goods is a minor element. The chief examples falling within this category are motion picture theaters, circuses, sporting events, amusement parks, public recreation grounds, and athletic or social clubs. In contrast to the psychological tendencies which cause the purchasing of *goods,* we have in these expenditures the evidences of the forces which draw people away from the home to commercial amusements. Also these services generally require small expenditures, which may be at frequent intervals without undue strain on the pocketbook. Finally, they are "consumable goods"—when once enjoyed, they have been used up. Hence a much stronger impulse exists to "replace" them, or to purchase the privilege of using them again and again, than in the case of the more durable recreational goods.[4]

3. *Vacation Travel:* This constitutes such a large proportion of all recreational expenditures that it is awarded a category by itself. It includes the expense incurred in vacation or other recreational travel by automobile, railway, or other form of transportation,

[3] The recreational products for which data could be obtained from government or private sources are:

Aircraft (private); Ammunition (for sports use); Athletic Attire: bathing caps, bathing suits, clothing (sports type), hose (athletic and golf), shoes (leather, sports), shoes (canvas, rubber-soled); Billiard Tables and Accessories; Firearms (for sports use); Fireworks; Music and Musical Instruments: music (sheet and book), pianos, other musical instruments, phonographs, records and accessories; Photographic Equipment and Services (amateur); Playing Cards; Radio Receivers; Radio Tubes; Reading Matter (general recreational type); Ships and Boats (for recreational use); Sporting Goods; Toys and Games; Trunks, Suitcases and Bags (for vacation travel)

[4] Recreational services for which data can be obtained or estimated:

Motion Picture Theaters; Other Theaters, Concerts, etc.; Other Miscellaneous Amusements (carnivals, circuses, bathing beaches, sporting events and similar amusements where admission is charged); Night Clubs and Cabarets (including expenditures for food and beverages); Social and Athletic Clubs; Public Facilities for Tennis and Golf

during sojourns at hotels or tourist camps, and sundry expenditures during such trips for meals, gifts, and entertainment. The psychological impulses which operate here are different from those in the previous categories; we have not only the urge to get away from home, but the expression of restlessness of temperament and the desire to see strange places and people.[5]

RECREATIONAL EXPENDITURES

When we proceed to examine the attitudes of consumers with respect to each of the foregoing groups, as indicated by annual expenditures,[6] we find exhibitions of striking differences of behavior, not only as regards each group as a whole, but as regards individual items within each group. Factors of durability, dispensability, and variability of demand all enter into the purchase of

[5] The items in this category for which data can be obtained or estimated:
Automobile Operating Expenses (proportion assignable to recreational travel—includes cost of gasoline, oil, tires, parts, accessories, taxes, fees, insurance, repairs, storage); Domestic Railway, Pullman, and Airway Fares; Other Domestic Tourist Expenditures (receipts of hotels and tourist camps, expenditures of tourists for meals outside of hotels, gifts, entertainment, beverages and other miscellaneous spendings); Foreign Travel

[6] The data in this section are in condensed form. Complete tabular data for each item, and their sources, may be found in the author's paper "Economic Aspects of Recreation," *Harvard Business Review*, Summer issue, July 1937

TABLE 1
Total Estimated Consumers' Expenditures for All Recreational Purposes
(Millions of Dollars)

	Products	Services	Vacation Travel	Total
1935	998	1005	2331	4334
1934	841	875	2086	3802
1933	719	809	1788	3316
1932	623	905	2013	3541
1931	1016	1164	2129	4309
1929	1842	1622	2790	6254
1927	1453	1388	2366	5207
1925	1326	1063	2268	4657
1923	1262	948	1792	4002
1921	943	761	1323	3027
1919	1149	633	1223	3005
1914	483	360	611	1454
1909	374	214	465	1053

TABLE 2
Percentages of National Income Expended by Consumers for Recreation

	Products	Services	Vacation Travel	Total
1935	1.87	1.88	4.37	8.12
1934	1.67	1.74	4.16	7.57
1933	1.60	1.80	3.98	7.38
1932	1.29	1.87	4.16	7.32
1931	1.65	1.89	3.46	7.00
1929	2.27	2.00	3.44	7.71
1927	1.84	1.75	2.99	6.58
1925	1.73	1.39	2.96	6.08
1923	1.82	1.37	2.59	5.78
1921	1.62	1.30	2.27	5.19
1919	1.87	1.03	1.99	4.89
1914	1.45	1.08	1.84	4.37
1909	1.35	.77	1.68	3.80

recreation as they do with other commodities. As has been pointed out, many recreative products constitute forms of durable goods, and the purchase of these is therefore subject to wide variations in times of prosperity and depression. On the other hand, those forms of recreation which are purchased frequently and for small expenditures—such as periodicals and admissions to motion pictures—show much greater stability. Table 1 shows the course of these variations.

Among *recreation products,* the principal objects of expenditure have been for home entertainment devices—pianos, phonographs, records, radio sets, and radio tubes. Next in order are periodicals of the general recreational type. Toys and games rank third, while sporting goods and athletic attire are a poor fourth. Expenditures for other products are comparatively small.

Certain important classes of products have not been included in the data because of the impossibility of securing even approximate estimates of their volume. Chief among these are the materials employed in the pursuit of many different kinds of hobbies. At present, public interest and activity in hobbies appears to be expanding at a substantial rate, as evidenced by renewed interest in books on this subject,[7] the expansion of hobby sections in department stores, international expositions of stamp collectors, introduction of hobby pages into newspapers and the like. It is probable that from $50,000,000 to $200,000,000 have been spent annually on hobbies of various sorts. These include stamp collecting, amateur gardening, crocheting, knitting, wood carving, soap sculpture, etching, astronomy, metal working, painting, model building, tropical fish breeding, animal pets, and many others.

Recreation services have become particularly successful during the past twenty-five years. Motion picture theaters have always stood at the top of the group. Up to 1927 other types of theaters (such as legitimate drama and vaudeville) enjoyed a substantial patronage, ranking second to motion pictures in that year; but in

[7] E. E. Calkins, *The Care and Feeding of Hobby Horses* (New York: Leisure League of America, 1936) contains an extensive bibliography

1927 sound pictures were introduced, and after that the attendance at legitimate theaters dropped so rapidly that they now represent the least of all recreational service expenditures. "Miscellaneous Other Amusements," which in some years ranked between "Other Theaters" and motion pictures, and in 1927 were third in rank, have shown a fair degree of stability, ranking second to motion pictures since 1927. Night clubs, cabarets, roof gardens, and the like cater to a limited class of patrons and the national expenditures in these places are of a much smaller order than those for attendance at the popular priced amusements. For example, in 1935 the expenditures for motion picture attendance were nearly twenty-five times as great as those for meals and entertainment at night clubs. On the other hand, expenditures for dues and fees of social and athletic clubs have been more substantial, and have ranked third in importance since 1929. The data refer principally to country clubs for the playing of golf and tennis. The number of members of such clubs is small compared to the movie-going population (it has been estimated that in 1931 there were slightly more than one million members of such clubs who played golf, compared to an estimated daily motion picture audience of ten million people).

Vacation travel is the principal way in which the American public spends its recreational funds. Nothing is more striking in any survey of American amusement habits than the increase in travel for pleasure during the last twenty-five years. The automobile has been chiefly responsible, but nevertheless the desire to travel appears to have grown as an independent habit development. Any reversal of this tendency toward a more "stay-at-home" attitude would have an important bearing upon future expenditures for home entertainment devices.

The persistent growth and magnitude of the travel habit is illustrated by the data in Table 1. The amount spent on automobile operation for recreational purposes, which is the most important component in the totals given in the table, far exceeds that spent

for any other form of amusement, and in 1935 was nearly twice as great as that spent for motion picture admissions.

Total expenditures for recreation, as shown in Table 1, indicate that there was a continuous growth from 1909 to 1929; a drop to 53 per cent of the 1929 value occurred during the depression, followed by recovery in 1935 to 69 per cent of the 1929 value. The largest component has always been vacation travel, and since 1931 this has been responsible for more than half the total. In most years, expenditures for products and services have been roughly equal. Generally speaking, the American public seems to divide its annual recreational expenditures in normal years into three major parts, half the total going into pleasure travel (principally by automobile) and the remainder split equally between the purchase of recreational products and participation in recreational services. In depression years, the ratios are likely to be somewhat altered, with travel and services taking larger shares of the total at the expense of products.

RECREATION COSTS AND NATIONAL INCOME

Trends and relationships within the data of recreation become more definite when the figures are considered relative to the national income for each year.[8] This method has been referred to earlier in this article, as a means of providing indices of public attitudes, or of the strength of the impulses which urge the group as a whole toward given forms of recreation. The national income varies from year to year. For example, in 1909 it was $27,661 millions, and rose gradually to the 1929 figure of $81,136 millions. During the recent depression a low point of $44,940 millions was established in 1933, with a recovery in 1935 to $53,440 millions. The first half of 1937 yielded an estimated national income of $35,000 millions, or at an annual rate of $70,000 millions. In spite of these wide variations in total income it is rather remarkable to find that the percentage expended for absolute living necessities

[8] Complete annual data of "national income paid out" from 1909 to 1935, and its expenditure for living essentials as well as for recreation, together with a fuller discussion, are given in the author's article in the *Harvard Business Review* referred to in footnote 6

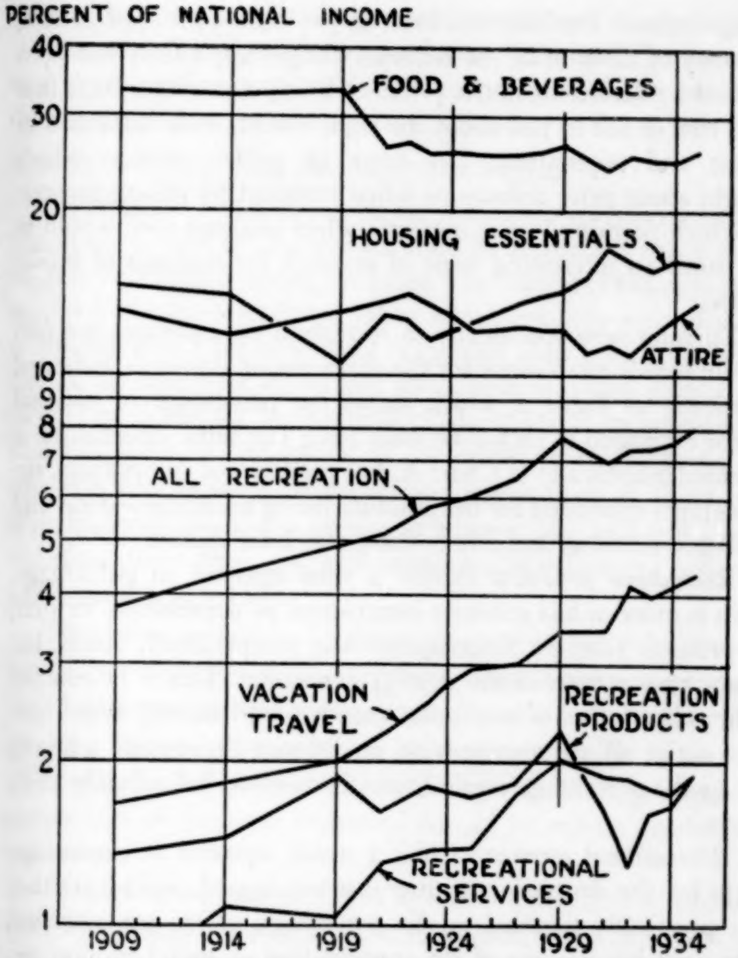


CHART A: PERCENTAGE OF NATIONAL INCOME SPENT FOR FOOD, HOUSING, ATTIRE & RECREATION.

has tended to remain rather constant in the neighborhood of slightly more than 50 per cent of the national income, over a long period of years, leaving a balance available for other types of non-essential purchases, such as recreation, of slightly less than 50 per cent. During the fourteen years from 1921 to 1935 the

average balance available has been 48 per cent. This approximate constancy of division of the national budget apparently has been achieved by variations in the prices of living necessities, such that prices rose or fell to just about the right extent, with variations in income and population. The force of public opinion which brought about price reductions when required by falling income, and which permitted price increases when incomes rose, would in itself form an interesting topic of research for students of public opinion.

Turning now specifically to recreation expenditures we find definite trends established for the three major classes as indicated statistically in Table 2, which shows the percentage of national income expended in each class since 1909. The same information is presented graphically in Chart A. For purposes of comparison, the percentages expended for the absolute living necessities—food and beverages, housing, and attire—have also been shown.

Recreation products exhibit a slow uptrend in percentage, which is more or less seriously interrupted by depressions. In 1921, a depression year, the interruption was comparatively small, but became very serious in the 1930-34 depression. This is in contrast to the other forms of recreation (services and travel) which suffered not at all, percentage-wise, in the 1921 depression, while in 1930-34 the percentage expenditures for services fell off only moderately.

Recreational services exhibit a steady uptrend in percentage, except for the depression decline just mentioned. Since 1914 they have practically doubled in the percentage of income attracted, quite probably because of the introduction of sound motion pictures in 1927. The steadiness of the uptrend indicates moderately higher percentages in the near future than those previously registered.

Vacation travel shows the strongest uptrend of all, reaching new high records in the midst of the depression.

All recreation has maintained a steady uptrend, not seriously affected by the 1930-34 depression, largely because of the contribu-

tions of vacation travel and recreational services. It seems probable that this trend will continue into future years and that we shall find in excess of 10 per cent of national income spent for recreation during the 1940's.

SHIFTS WITHIN THE RECREATION FIELD

Within the broad sweep of the constantly increasing proportion of the consumer's income attracted by recreation, many minor shifts have occurred during the years. The consumer has apparently acquired certain recreational habits which not only seem destined to last, but which are very likely to increase their hold upon him—that is, the desire for travel and attendance at sound motion pictures. The desire for recreational products seems to be merely a relatively constant one, except in depression years. However, it is relatively easy to sway the consuming public from an older form of recreational product or service to a newer one, and this has led to serious effects upon old, well-established industries by new ones which came into being.

Recreation products. To illustrate some of the stabilities and instabilities among recreation products, Chart B has been prepared. Data for certain products were selected particularly to show how one type of product is affected by the introduction of another which displaces it as an attraction. These data are presented as percentages of the total expended for all recreation products in each year.

The left-hand part of Chart B shows the course of expenditures for pianos, phonographs, and records, radio receivers and tubes, and sporting goods. It will be observed how phonographs apparently affected the sale of pianos and how both were effectively displaced by radio after 1925. A brief revival appeared in the phonograph field, in 1927, owing to the introduction of electrical recordings, electrical reproduction, and improved mechanical phonographs, which were all widely advertised. But this revival was of short duration. Sporting goods, in contrast, fluctu-

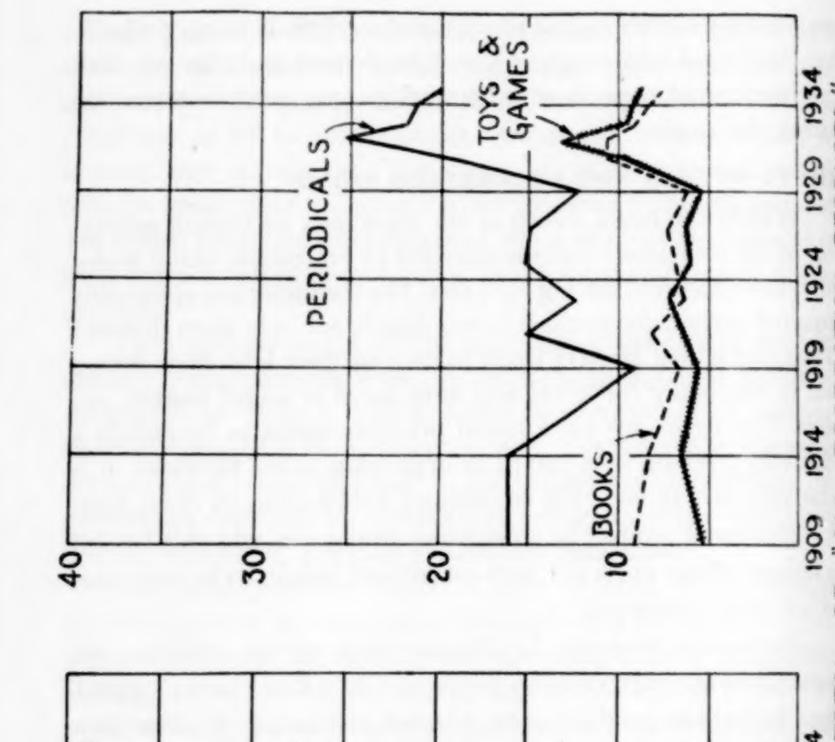


CHART B: PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL OF "ALL RECREATION PRODUCTS" EXPENDED FOR CERTAIN ITEMS

ated little over this period of years, remaining near 5 per cent.

The right-hand half of Chart B shows the behavior of expenditures for books, periodicals, toys, and games. All of these items appear to attract about the same percentage of the total, except during the recent depression when the proportion spent for each of them rose sharply. This result occurred, of course, because of the curtailment of purchases of expensive, durable recreation goods.

Recreation Services. In this field also, displacements of one type of service by another have occurred, as is illustrated by Chart C.

Vacation Travel. Finally, in the field of vacation travel, we find that the shifts which have occurred are principally in the method of transportation and in the falling off of foreign travel in preference to that done domestically. Chart D illustrates these facts.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The thesis is presented that public attitudes toward recreation may be studied from the standpoint of nationwide expenditures for the various kinds of recreation. In order to determine trends, the ratios of expenditure to national income are used. In this way, the effects on expenditures of varying conditions, such as prosperity or depression, are minimized, since the percentage of the available funds which is expended for a given purpose is regarded as more significant than the absolute amount expended.

A subdivision of recreation costs from the economic and psychological standpoint, may be made according to the objects of expenditures, which are recreation products, services, and vacation travel. The first of these is principally associated with the home, the second with commercial amusements outside the home but in its general vicinity, and the third with the desire for change and travel.

Determining the public's spending habits over the period 1909-35, it is found that recreation services and travel have been increasing not only in absolute value but have been attracting a steadily increasing share of the national income. The rising trend of these forms of recreation has not been seriously affected by depressions. Recreation products, however, have not followed the

same tendencies, and their share of the national income has remained relatively constant except during the recent depression when it was seriously affected. This behavior does not necessarily indicate that the *desire* for the type of recreation afforded by products suffers during a depression. It simply means that since these products are in the nature of durable goods, their replacement may be postponed until better times, although the utilization of such products goes on throughout a depression to the same extent as before. The rising trend of "services" and "travel" indicates their increasing popularity, while the approximate constancy of "products" indicates a more or less constant desire.

Finally it is found that, when the percentage spent in each major category for certain important items is investigated, shifts

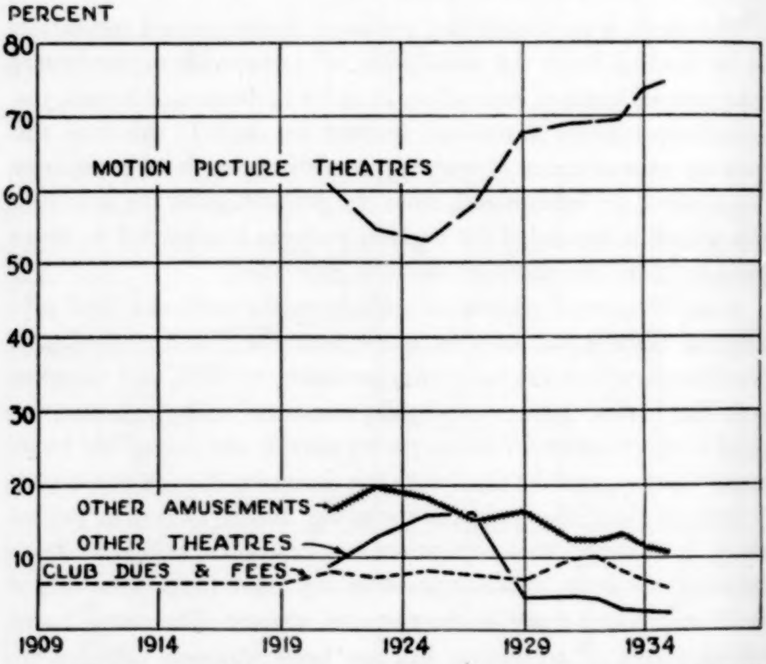


CHART C: PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL OF "ALL RECREATIONAL SERVICES" EXPENDED FOR CERTAIN ITEMS —

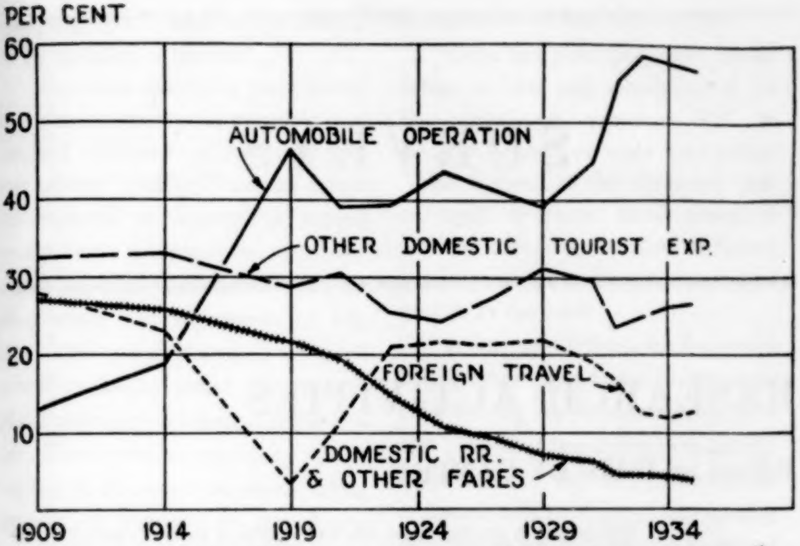


CHART D: PERCENTAGES OF ALL "VACATION TRAVEL" EXPENDED FOR VARIOUS ITEMS.

of public fancy from one form of recreation service or product to another may cause substantial changes in expenditure.

These general trends and shifts of fancy cannot be attributed to public opinion formation through pressure or propaganda. The development of public habits in these fields has come about because of natural circumstances and the emotional appeal of those forms of amusement which have become most popular.

The future of the recreation field appears to be a favorable one. It is likely that an increasing proportion of the national income will be devoted to recreation, but this will be expended principally for attendance at recreational services and for travel. Purchases of recreation equipment are likely to take the same share of national income that they have in the past, except during depressions. Barring the emergence of some new product of wide appeal, it is probable that the major expenditures will be for radio receivers, which should receive about 25 per cent of the total annual recreation products expenditures.

SURVEYS

RESEARCH ACTIVITIES

Edited by HADLEY CANTRIL

This section is devoted to surveys and reports of current research in the field of public opinion, particularly in academic institutions. Studies in the formation, analysis, and measurement of public opinion are included, and material is drawn from a wide variety of fields such as economics, history, sociology, politics, social psychology, journalism, advertising, market research, and radio broadcasting.

ATTITUDES OF ECONOMIC GROUPS

By ARTHUR W. KORNHAUSER

The author is Associate Professor of Business Psychology at the University of Chicago.

This is the report of a preliminary investigation designed (1) to help define the extent of agreement and of opposition among different income and occupational groups with respect to selected political and economic issues (indicators of "class" feelings), and (2) to ascertain the relationship of individuals' opinions to certain of the personal factors which operate within the economic groupings.

In the spring of 1936 approximately 600 adults in Chicago were interviewed individually, almost all in their homes, and were asked to fill out a simple blank containing three short sets of questions. Several districts were selected representing different income levels; homes were chosen at random within these areas. Each question was answered by

checking "yes," "no," or "doubtful," or by checking a phrase.

Fourteen questions were aimed at attitudes on general economic and political relationships, especially matters where "class" differences might be expected to appear. A second group of six questions inquired into the respondent's satisfaction with his own status and enjoyment of life. The third group consisted of seven questions asking about the strength of different general desires of the person. These were answered by checking one of five responses representing degrees of intensity of the desire.

The principal classification of the persons interviewed was by income and occupation. Classification into three income levels was based upon the rental figures for the census tracts within which the persons resided (Chicago census of 1934) and upon estimates of rents by the interviewers. The approximate rents for the several levels were:

Upper group	over $60 a month
Middle group	$40 to $60
Lower group	$20 to $40

The lower group did not include the poorest 20 per cent or so of the population. Information on occupation, sex, age, schooling and religious preference was secured at the time of the interview.

Comparison of Income Groups

Data for men only will be referred to here and a number of the less significant questions will be omitted because of space limitations. Table I contains the summary percentages. A special small group of wealthy men (only fourteen of them) has been added to the three principal groups in the table.

It is apparent from the figures in Table I that important differences do exist among the income classes. It is also clear that the differences are far from uniform. Especially noteworthy is the tendency for the middle income group to agree with the lower group on questions pertaining to the present distribution of wealth and influence (Questions 3, 4, 6, 10, 13, 17). On the other hand, on questions like those of unionism and socialization of industry (threats to the present order from the less privileged and "radical"), the middle group swings toward the upper gro~~up in~~ opposition to the lower (Questions 1 and 7).

The personal-satisfaction questions show no less striking differences than those in Part I. The contrasting figures for the "upper" and "lower" groups are challenging both in their size and in the variations from question to question, with clear indication of the frequent articulate protest against insecurity and insufficient pay

TABLE I
Responses of Men in Different Income Groups

	Per Cent Doubtful[1]	*Per cent "Yes" (Per cent of "Yes" + "No," omitting "Doubtfuls")* Wealthy n = 14	Upper n = 100	Middle n = 99	Lower n = 131
Part I.					
1. Would you like to see the government own and run the big industries of the country?	6	0	9	17	31
3. Is it wrong for some people to have great wealth and all that it buys, while other people have barely enough to live?	10	43	40	60	57
4. In general are you in favor of the New Deal (the policies of President Roosevelt and his aids)?	18	8	18	41	51
6. Are the things that wealthy business men want the government to do usually best for the country as a whole?	25	80	45	23	20
7. Are the things that labor unions want the government to do usually best for the country as a whole?	30	18	10	20	38
10. Do working people in general get fair treatment and fair pay?	17	91	72	49	45
13. Do business men and people of wealth have too much influence in running the affairs of the nation?	10	7	40	69	80
Part II.		*Per cent "No" (dissatisfied)*			
15. Do you feel that your children (or those of your friends and neighbors) have as much opportunity as they should have?	7	0	30	37	47
16. Do you like the kind of work you do?	4	0	3	11	22
17. Do you feel that your pay (or salary) is fair?	8	0	8	38	35
18. Would you say you are treated well by the people you work for?	5	0	1	5	15
19. Do you feel that your work is steady and that there is no danger of losing your job?	15	15	21	28	49
20. Do you feel that you have as much opportunity to enjoy life as you should have?	9	8	17	43	48

[1] The percentage of "doubtful" responses did not differ greatly from one income group to another, so that the single figure is fairly representative.

TABLE I (continued)

Part III.	*Per cent "Very strong" or "Rather strong" desire*				
21. Would you like to have things more settled and safe in your life, so that there would be nothing to worry about or be afraid of as you look ahead?	—	38	64	75	71
22. Do you especially want people to think highly of you, to admire you, to feel that you are a "somebody"—a really worthwhile person?	—	71	64	56	40
24. Do you want to be a leader, to have power or influence over people, to be able to tell them what to do and make them do what you want?	—	33	34	35	25
25. Do you feel that you want greater personal freedom than you have? Would you like to live your life more as you please and do things of your own free will without feeling forced to act this way or that?	—	21	29	52	45

and the less common though very considerable dissatisfaction with the job itself and the treatment received. The more general questions (15 and 20) reveal a large proportion of dissatisfied at the lower income level and almost as many in the middle group. Responses to the questions on personal desires, while they show less marked differences, may be seen also to contain significant variations from group to group.

Comparison of Occupational Groups

The comparison of occupational groups furnishes more detailed evidence on the question of economic "class" attitudes. In this preliminary study occupational comparisons are not highly reliable because of the small size of the groups. A few special occupations were sampled, however, to supplement the basic data—especially business executives, engineers, and college professors. The various groups are compared in Table II.

Many striking contrasts are apparent between the occupations at the top, middle, and bottom of the Table. Likewise many discrepancies occur, often rationally interpretable ones, between supposedly allied groups. The percentages for engineers and lawyers closely parallel those for business executives, in a way that argues against the assertions of students who like to view these professional men as independent of business bias or as deriving distinctive social attitudes from their occupational disciplines

rather than from their economic interests and associations.[2] Nevertheless, sufficient difference is indicated on particular questions to suggest that special occupational influences are by no means absent. Unlike the engineers and lawyers, the college professors chosen from several Chicago institutions give responses more similar to those of the manual-worker groups—with a notable exception on the question about the effect of labor union policies. The remaining groups—physicians, office workers, salesmen, and retailers—show marked variations, on some questions resembling the business executives, on others tending toward the manual-worker groups.

Further important relationships bearing on "class" differences are discovered when occupational groups are compared *within a given income level*. Thus, for example, 31 per cent of the men in the low income group

[2] In view of Veblen's emphasis on occupational group differences in "workmanship" impulses, it is worth noting that responses to a desire question on that point show no significant differences at all in support of the claims. The "workmanship" question reads: "Do you have a strong desire to do things with special care and thoroughness? Do you like to take extra pains in completing a job? Does it bother you if work is done fairly well, but not quite perfectly?"

TABLE II

Responses of Men in Different Occupational Groups

	Per cent "Yes" on each Question (Per cent of "Yes" + "No," omitting "Doubtfuls")							
	N	Q.1[3]	Q.3	Q.4	Q.6	Q.7	Q.10	Q.13
		Government ownership	Wealth inequality wrong	Favor New Deal	Policies of wealthy good	Policies of unions good	Fair treatment and pay	Wealthy too much influence
Business executives	66	3	41	13	55	10	80	39
Lawyers	13	8	50	20	55	11	80	27
Engineers	65	15	36	28	48	11	73	47
Retail merchants	35	18	40	54	36	36	54	75
Salesmen	15	33	64	46	11	20	55	82
Clerks	34	9	57	38	15	29	54	56
"Higher" office workers	16	7	64	36	15	8	72	80
M.D.'s and Dentists	22	19	65	14	13	0	45	65
Professors—Social Science	28	41	77	84	0	0	13	85
Professors—Natural Science	19	38	69	65	14	13	36	86
Manual—skilled	32	35	52	42	30	58	35	83
Manual—semi-skilled	25	68	43	62	12	39	21	88
Manual—unskilled	15	31	46	58	36	55	31	86

[3] For full form of the questions, see Table I; the question numbers correspond to the ones used there

voted "yes" on government ownership (Question 1), but when this figure is broken down, the percentages for occupational sub-groups are found to be as follows: Office clerks 9 per cent; skilled manual workers 33 per cent; unskilled and semi-skilled 56 per cent. Likewise among business executives and engineers, taking only those at the upper income level, the percentages favoring government ownership are 3 and 19, respectively. These comparisons point to the existence of important occupational determinants of attitude cutting across the broad economic class groupings.

Significant cross-cutting influences are also observable in other directions. Differences in attitude between educational groups, for example, sometimes approach in size the variations noted among income classes. In general those with less schooling tend to be slightly more "radical"—that is, to differ more from the attitudes of the wealthier group. One or two illustrations will suffice:

Percentage "yes" on government ownership (Question 1) among groups with different amounts of schooling, all at *"lower"* income level:

Elementary school	35%
High school	36%
College	8%

Percentage "yes" on labor union policies being beneficial (Question 7), among groups at *"lower"* income level:

Elementary school	59%
High school	31%
College	14%

Age and religion appear to be less significant influences in respect to the attitudes dealt with in this inquiry. The younger men are not consistently more or less "radical" than the older men. Fairly large and suggestive age differences, however, are found on a few of the personal-satisfaction and desire questions—for example, the following:

Within the *"lower"* income group, the percentage of several age groups who definitely do *not* "like the kind of work you do" (Question 16) is:

Young (18-32)	30%
Medium (33-52)	19%
Older (over 52)	8%

Attitudes and Personal Desires

Of greater psychological interest than the foregoing materials are the relationships, within income levels, between individuals' attitudes on social questions and their expressions of personal desires and satisfactions. These relationships may be exemplified by considering how far personal dissatisfactions are associated with

opinions for or against government ownership of industry. (See Table III.) Thus, of the persons in the upper income class who are satisfied that their children have as much opportunity as they should have (Question 15), only 7 per cent vote "yes" on government ownership; of those *dissatisfied* (or "doubtful") about their children's opportunity, 24 per cent are favorable to government ownership. At the middle income level the corresponding percentages are 9 and 31; at the workers' level, 23 and 38 (Top two rows of figures in Table III). In other words, at the upper and middle levels the dissatisfied are three and a half times as likely to be for government ownership as are the satisfied; at the lower level the dissatisfied are only one and a half times as likely as the satisfied to favor government ownership. On this and a number of other issues, the personally dissatisfied at the upper levels tend to hold views approaching those more commonly held by the economically less favored. On almost all questions, only relatively slight differences occur between satisfied and dissatisfied persons at the lower income level. The comparisons suggest the generalization that while at the upper levels it tends to be the personally discontented who favor government ownership and other measures of social change, at the lower levels *personal* dissatisfaction is secondary as an influence.

As may be seen in Table III, however, not all dissatisfactions are equally associated with opinions on a public question like government ownership. Within the middle and lower groups, for example, people who do not like the kind of work they do (Question 16) have scarcely more inclination to government ownership than those who are content regarding their work. (At the upper level only three persons expressed dis-

TABLE III

Percentages of Satisfied and of Dissatisfied (by Responses to Q. 15-20) Who Favor Government Ownership

	Income groups Upper	Middle	Lower
15.[4] Children's opportunity			
Satisfied	7	9	23
Dissatisfied	24	31	38
16. Kind of work			
Satisfied	9	18	30
Dissatisfied	(67)[5]	19	38
17. Pay fair			
Satisfied	8	12	26
Dissatisfied	27	26	42
18. Employer treatment			
Satisfied	10	14	30
Dissatisfied	(100)[5]	38	48
19. Job insecurity			
Satisfied	7	14	20
Dissatisfied	26	22	44
20. Opportunity to enjoy life			
Satisfied	5	11	24
Dissatisfied	33	28	39

[4] For full form of the questions, see Table I; the question numbers correspond

[5] Too few cases to be taken seriously

satisfaction, and hence the comparison is meaningless.) Similarly on other of these questions important differences may be noted—for example, at the lower income level, dissatisfaction regarding job insecurity (Question 19) is especially strongly associated with votes for government ownership; at the middle level dissatisfaction regarding children's opportunity (Question 15) looms largest; while at the upper income level, first place goes to dissatisfaction over "opportunity to enjoy life" (Question 20). All of which seems to make very good sense!

Several additional points concerning the relationships between the satisfaction questions and the politico-economic issues may be mentioned. In general, responses to the questions on opportunity to enjoy life and opportunity for one's children (Questions 15 and 20) are most closely associated with opinions on the social questions. Dissatisfaction with the kind of work one does bears little relationship to any of the issues covered. Discontent regarding pay received (Question 17) and regarding employer's treatment (Question 18) are especially closely related to opinion on the question: Do working people in general get fair treatment and fair pay? (Question 10) Finally it is interesting that dissatisfaction over job insecurity shows no influence on other issues as great as that which appears with respect to government ownership. This is particularly true at the working class level.

Comparisons like the foregoing have also been made between the personal-desire questions and the political issues. The relationships, while less marked, offer challenging material for interpretation. By way of illustration, the percentage figures for the several desire ratings as related to answers concerning government ownership are shown in Table IV. Thus it may be seen in the first

TABLE IV

Percentages of those with Stronger and Less Strong Desires (Q. 21-27) Who Favor Government Ownership

	Income groups		
	Upper	Middle	Lower
21. Desire for security			
Very strong, etc.	14	18	33
Not strong	6	18	28
22. Desire for recognition			
Very strong, etc.	8	15	26
Not strong	16	22	36
23. "Workmanship" desire			
Very strong, etc.	5	18	33
Not strong	24	17	30
24. Desire for power			
Very strong, etc.	10	17	20
Not strong	13	19	39
25. Desire for freedom			
Very strong, etc.	16	22	32
Not strong	6	11	33
26. Desire for self-confidence			
Very strong, etc.	11	15	31
Not strong	11	22	33
27. Desire to help others			
Very strong, etc.	8	23	38
Not strong	14	14	24

part of the table that among lower and middle income groups a strong desire for security (Question 21) bears no relationship to attitude toward government ownership, but at the high income level those expressing a strong desire for security are more than twice as likely to favor government ownership as are those with a less strong urge for security. Even more strikingly in the case of the workmanship motive (Question 23), those who have this desire strongly at the upper income level are only one-fifth as likely to be for government ownership as are their fellows. Likewise, perhaps surprisingly, those stressing the desire for greater personal freedom (Question 25) are almost three times as frequently *for* government ownership as are the others. Apparently the well-to-do persons who are most favorable toward government ownership tend to be those who feel hampered and insecure under the present system, while the capable business and professional men with a flare for doing things thoroughly for themselves are most against "socialization."

Again, it is enlightening to compare the income classes: At the upper level, most closely related to belief in government ownership are absence of a very strong workmanship motive and presence of strong desires for personal freedom and security; at the middle level the clearest connection is with the desire for greater personal freedom; at the lower level, it is the absence of strong desire for power and the presence of strong impulses to help others.

All the foregoing material is offered with a view to suggesting the usefulness of the approach described, (1) in checking on some of the easy generalizations and divergent social theories which are always current concerning occupational and "class" attitudes, and (2) in analyzing and measuring some of the interwoven factors which relate to political and economic orientations of individuals. The evidence points clearly to the existence of important attitude differences among income classes. It indicates equally clearly, however, that within the homogeneous income groupings, opinions are significantly associated with difference in other factors—notably occupation, amount of schooling, and certain of the individual's personal desires and feelings of satisfaction and discontent. It is obvious that these factors, and a great many others, need to be more adequately analyzed and measured, and then studied far more thoroughly in relationship to the deeper-cutting attitudes which compose the "public mind."

WHAT VOTERS THINK OF CANDIDATES BEFORE AND AFTER ELECTION

By ARNOLD THOMSEN

The author is a member of the staff of the School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University.

A vote, although quantitative, does not adequately indicate an individual's attitude toward a candidate. The vote is in terms of "either-or." A person either votes for a candidate, or he does not. Yet two individuals voting for the same candidate may have quite different degrees of favor. One may cast his ballot with misgivings. The other may be absolutely sure that his candidate is by far the best man for the office. Here is a difference in *degree of support* which is totally lost by use of an "either-or" instrument. In the field of public opinion, "more-or-less" of favor or disfavor may well be of cardinal importance. It is only within the past few years that accurate devices have been originated to measure degrees of attitudes. One of these new techniques was employed in the research reported here.[1]

The experiment was undertaken to determine if the *affect* (emotional attitude of disfavor or favor) of a large number of individuals toward Presidential candidates shifted as election approached and passed. The hypothesis was that immediately before the last election, Democrats would believe that Roosevelt was the *best possible* man for the office, and Landon the worst, but that after election the affect toward both would be more *moderate*. Republicans, of course, would be extremely partisan in their favorable affect toward Landon before the election, but would be more *moderate* after. Democrats and Republicans would thus behave in opposite fashions. Immediately before the election the affect distribution might be in the form of a steep "J-shaped" distribution. After the election the affect might not be distributed in the form of such a sharp "J". There might even be a bell-shaped symmetrical distribution. The election, from this viewpoint, is an event involving *partisan conformity*. After election the particularly potent and highly related factors producing partisan conformity are minimized or disappear altogether, and consequently the distribution of affect is considerably modified.

[1] The writer expresses his indebtedness to Professor F. H. Allport for suggesting the hypothesis of this experiment, and for extremely valuable aid throughout the process of interpretation, and to Professor Herman C. Beyle for furnishing three of his standardized scales for measuring affect toward any political candidate or officer

TABLE I

Frequency of Affect Toward Roosevelt and Landon Before and After the Presidential Election of November 3, 1936

Scale Positions	Application of Oct. 31-Nov. 3		Application of Nov. 4-5		Application of Nov. 14-17	
	Frequency on Roosevelt Scale	Frequency on Landon Scale	Frequency on Roosevelt Scale	Frequency on Landon Scale	Frequency on Roosevelt Scale	Frequency on Landon Scale
91-100	5	2	3	4	5	4
81- 90	33	41	38	25	31	23
71- 80	4	12	15	11	10	13
61- 70	7	6	5	4	11	4
51- 60	2	1	1	1	7	1
41- 50	4	3	10	7	9	7
31- 40	7	3	5	8	8	11
21- 30	27	23	14	22	18	11
11- 20	14	11	11	6	6	9
0- 10	2	4	5	3	2	3
	105	106	107	91	107	86

In this experiment we are not interested in what each individual, as a complete human being, is trying to do. We are interested in the *common behavior* of all voters who support a given candidate. Individuals support the same candidate for different reasons, but there is one thing common to them: they are *all* trying to elect the candidate of their side. This is the purpose; the rule is to go to the polls and vote. Because of the mechanisms of voting, there are no degrees of abiding by the rule. It is a matter of "either-or"; either the ballot is cast or it is not.

In order to measure affect at three different times, three forms of a standardized affect scale, constructed by Professor Herman C. Beyle in accord with one of the techniques developed by Professor L. L. Thurstone were employed. Statements ranged from: "I wouldn't support him (Roosevelt or Landon) under any circumstances" (scale value of 0), to: "I am absolutely convinced he (Roosevelt or Landon) is the ideal man for the office" (scale value of 100). The positions on each of the three scales ranged from 0 to 100. The extremely low scale positions were of extreme disfavor; the extremely high positions were of extreme favor. An individual's affect, in quantitative terms, was the average of the numerical value of all the statements he was willing to endorse.

Each scale was composed of eleven statements.

One hundred and eleven individuals checked the three forms of the scale. One form of the scale was checked between October 31 and November 3, 1936. Of the 111 individuals, 105 were willing to express their affect toward Roosevelt and 106 toward Landon. A second form of the scale was applied one day after the election (November 4-5). A third form of the scale was applied two weeks after the election (November 14-17). The same 111 individuals were contacted; 107 checked the Roosevelt scale, 86 the Landon. Thirty of the individuals were Syracuse University students. The remainder (81) were adults chosen at random from the *Syracuse City Directory*.

Table I presents the different affect-frequencies obtained from the three applications. The frequency surfaces present the data in graphic form.

Common statistical techniques cannot be applied to the entire distribution of any one period, since the distributions are composed of two almost completely separate parts. Hence each application will be split into two sections—the lower from scale positions of 0 through 50 and the upper from scale positions of 51 through 100. The mode of support and of opposition in all cases remains the same. There are shifts in means (presented in Table II), and although none of them has an absolute statistical reliability, six of the eight shifts are in the direction expected by the hypothesis, one shows no shift, and one shifts slightly in the direction not expected. Part of the hypothesis, it will be remembered, was that after the election

TABLE II
Shifts in Means

Means of Distributions of Individuals	Application of Oct. 31-Nov. 3		Application of Nov. 4-5		Application of Nov. 14-17	
	No. of Individuals	Scale Position	No. of Individuals	Scale Position	No. of Individuals	Scale Position
Opposed to Roosevelt	54	25.4	45	27.6	43	29.4
Favorable to Roosevelt	51	82.0	62	81.9	64	78.2
Opposed to Landon	44	23.0	46	28.2	41	28.4
Favorable to Landon	62	81.0	45	81.4	45	81.4

voters would be more moderate in their affect than before.

An examination of Table II will reveal that for partisans of both candidates, the degree of *favorable* affect toward a given candidate was greater than the degree of *unfavorable* affect toward the rival candidate. In terms of this scale, people were voting *for* their candidate more than they were voting *against* their candidate's opponent.

Table III presents the shifts in variability. In all cases the spread is greater two weeks after election than just prior to election. This means that partisan conformity, measured in terms of statistical variability, decreases after election.

Table IV also exhibits the changes in conformity. In this table, however, only the central portions of the *entire* scale are considered. The individuals checking the extremely favorable thirty units of the scale (scale positions 71 to 100) are not included, nor are the individuals checking the extremely unfavorable thirty units (scale positions 0 to 30). This leaves only the central 40 per cent of the *scale*. The figures are in terms of the relation between the number of moderate individuals and the total number of individuals checking the scale.

If the shifts of separate individuals are considered, rather than changes in the frequency distributions as a whole, it is found that on the Roosevelt scale, applied the day after election, 13 individuals had shifted from their pre-election score below the position of 50 on the scale to above the position of 50. Seven made the same shift from below 50 to above two weeks later. There were no changes from below the 50 position to above on the Landon scale a day after election, and only two after two weeks. A total of five shifted during the two weeks from above the 50 position to below on both the Landon and the Roosevelt scales.

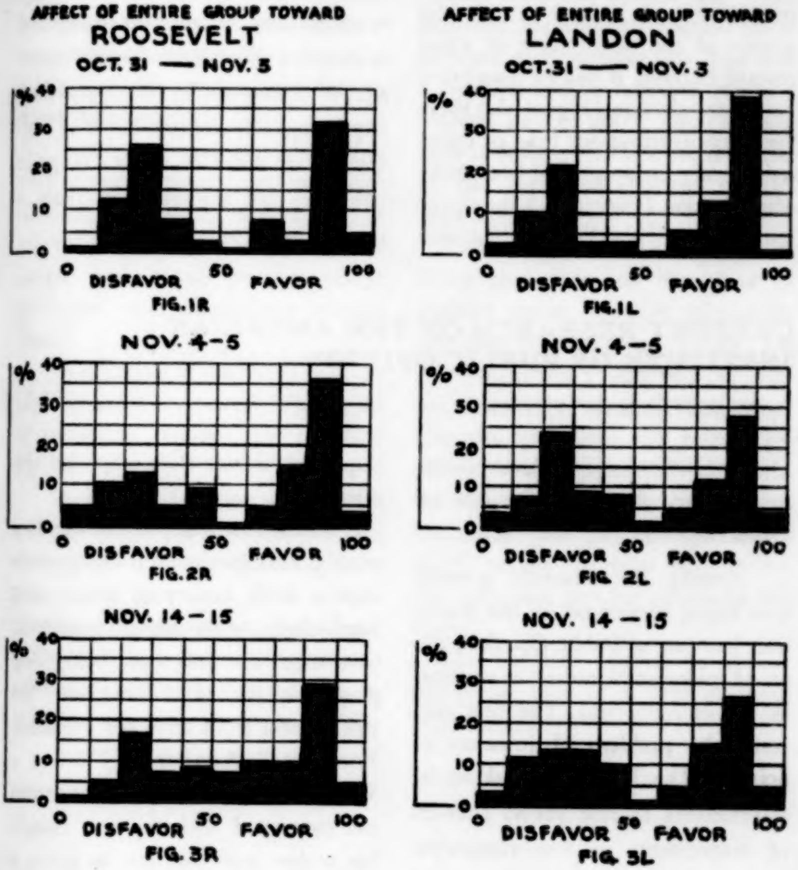
TABLE III
Shifts in Variability

Standard Deviation of Distributions of Individuals	Oct. 31-Nov. 3	Nov. 4-5	Nov. 14-17
Opposed to Roosevelt	9.20	12.04	11.54
Favorable to Roosevelt	9.67	8.12	11.64
Opposed to Landon	8.24	10.90	11.50
Favorable to Landon	7.59	8.85	8.34

TABLE IV
Percentage of Cases in Central Two-Fifths of Scale

	Oct. 31-Nov. 3	Nov. 4-5	Nov. 14-17
Individuals checking central portions of Roosevelt scale	19.0%	19.6%	32.7%
Individuals checking central portions of Landon scale	12.3%	22.0%	26.7%

DISTRIBUTION OF MEASURES OF AFFECT (DISFAVOR-FAVOR) OF CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS TOWARD ROOSEVELT AND LANDON BEFORE AND AFTER THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF NOVEMBER 3, 1936



Again in terms of individual checking, rather than in terms of the total distribution, it was found that 20 of the 111 subjects refused to check their affect toward Landon the day after election, and 25 refused two weeks later. Only four refused each time after the election to check the Roosevelt scale. Each of the 111 subjects was given the same opportunity to check the scale at each application.

The present experiment demonstrates that after an election there are

measurable changes in the ***conformity of support*** for a candidate which are not similar to the changes in the ***conformity of opposition***. In the graphs of the distribution of affect toward Landon, it will be noted that before the election (Figure 1L) there are steep distributions both of opposition and of support. But two weeks after election (Figure 3L) the distribution of opposition has become more flat than before the election, while the distribution of support remains steep. From this it is clear that a conformity of support measured in terms of affect is not directly opposite to a conformity of opposition. Psychologically the two kinds of conformity are different, and a change in one does not always accompany a change in the other.

CURRENT RESEARCH OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC OPINION

By CLAUDE E. ROBINSON

Dr. Robinson is Associate Director of the American Institute of Public Opinion.

Among the research projects now being carried on by the American Institute of Public Opinion, two are of widespread interest to students in the opinion field. The first concerns the problem of intensity of opinion. The Institute is asking its interviewers to rate yes-no answers of respondents in five categories: strongly yes, yes, no, strongly no, and no opinion. In order to compare interviewers' ratings on intensity with those of respondents, samples are being split, with interviewers instructed to rate opinion intensity on half of the ballots, and respondents requested to rate themselves on the other half.

Since the Institute polls the country weekly, the experiment is being made with a wide variety of issues, and particularly with trend questions. One trend question now being employed in the experiment is: "Do you favor a third term for President Roosevelt?" Another is: "When a World War veteran dies from causes not connected with the war should his widow and children be given a pension by the government?" Trend questions of this type will permit an answer to the problem: do opinion trends move away from or toward the most intensely held opinion?

Other questions which are being raised in the experiment are:

What is the relationship between intensity of opinion and "no opinion," i.e., do questions that elicit a high percentage of "no opinion" answers from respondents also elicit a low intensity opinion from respondents who answer?

How does intensity of opinion vary among groups: between high income respondents and those on relief; between men and women; old people and young people; college graduates and non-college respondents?

What types of questions produce high intensity responses? What types of questions produce low intensity replies?

A second Institute experiment seeks to throw light on the problem of variation in reply resulting from phrasing of questions. Each sample is being supplemented with a second ballot on which the same questions are asked but with different phrasing. One pair, for example, is "Do you think married men earning less than $2,500 a year should be required to pay a Federal income tax?" The alternate phrasing is: "Do you think married men earning less than $48 a week should be required to pay a Federal income tax?" The phrasing here is designed to test the influence of the factor of bigness on the answer.

Other alternate wordings are being chosen to test the effect of positive versus negative phrasings; i.e., "Do you approve," versus "Do you disapprove"; "Are you for" versus "Are you against." Still other alternate phrasings are being employed to test "polarities" of words, for example, "In your opinion are the rates you pay for electricity fair?" versus "In your opinion are the rates you pay for electricity too high?"

The Institute expects to devote the better part of a year to these experiments.

GOVERNMENT

Edited by HAROLD D. LASSWELL

This department deals with the informational, educational, and publicity activities of government: local, regional, and national; domestic and foreign. The material includes news of recent trends, summaries of research, critical comment, case histories, discussion of sources.

MAKING USE OF EX-PRESIDENTS AND ALSO-RANS AS LEADERS OF PUBLIC OPINION

By JOHN ALBERT VIEG

Dr. Vieg is Assistant Professor of Government at Iowa State College.

Every nation has its unsolved problems. One of America's—as Bryce remarked long ago—is what to do with her ex-Presidents and—of nearly equal importance—what to do with her ex-candidates for the Presidency. Today with Messrs. Hoover, Landon, Smith, Davis, and Cox all living and generally active,[1] the problem has some real dimensions, but when, three short years hence, a vigorous and probably still popular Roosevelt leaves the White House, it will assume unusual proportions.

During the first third of America's 150 years of Presidential history, we seemed by way of working out a fairly satisfactory solution. Perhaps largely because of the influences of personal ties with successors, the first seven Presidents graduated into an unofficial Council of Elder Statesmen. This is not so apparent, of course, in the case of the Adamses. Out of tune with the sentiments of the Virginia dynasty, the Elder Adams sulked for a considerable time in a forerunner of the modern I-Was-Not-Consulted Club. Out of tune with Jackson and his other later successors, the younger Adams was likewise excluded from the councils of the Administration, but through his long service in the House of Representatives he did become a sort of one-man Privy Council for the nation.

For a full century, however, practically nothing has been done to find ways of conserving the usefulness of our greatest leaders. Now and then a writer has remarked the unhappy contrast between the majesty of the chief magistracy and the unstateliness of the position of a former executive. It has been suggested

[1] The abilities of Mr. Hughes, only other living Also-Ran, are of course well conserved in the federal judiciary

that an ex-President be given a pension which would relieve him of the necessity of engaging in the unseemly business of earning a living, or that he be awarded a seat in the Senate. But all of these proposals have had the flaw of negativism: they have been advanced primarily out of consideration of the necessity to "do something" in order to avoid public embarrassment either for a former titular head or for the people.

Need of a New Approach

What is needed is a new and positive approach. Considerations of personal or national embarrassment put the cart before the horse. The constructive way to come at the question is to visualize it as a problem in the conservation of outstanding leadership in public opinion. The venerable truism that democracy rests on public opinion furnishes the only foundation for a positive solution. Presidents and major-party nominees for the presidency are in the nature of things outstanding leaders of public opinion. They rate high in the ability to voice with force and accuracy the views and aspirations of great numbers of their fellow citizens. Though America has had a reasonably adequate number of first-grade political leaders, she has certainly never had an overabundance. Men who can give faithful and eloquent expression to a nation's ideas and ideals are hard to find. Once found, they should be kept occupied —not for their good but for the nation's. Invariably the careers of those who reach the threshold of the White House reveal marked aptitudes for gauging the public mind. Presidents and nominees win their positions by personifying public attitudes; interpretation of opinion is their "line." The key to continued utilization of their special abilities lies, therefore, in keeping them "in their element."

Politics and administration encompass the whole range of government. An ex-candidate for the Presidency might not inappropriately serve in some field of general administration following defeat at the polls (Hughes served as Secretary of State during the early '20's) and even an ex-President, as the experience of Taft proves, may accept a high position in judicial administration. But openings in the latter field being sharply limited, the political area of government is the one wherein provision for conserving the leadership of ex-Presidents and Runners-Up is most appropriately made.

An Old Idea Perfected

Congress enjoys—and should properly enjoy—clear preeminence in the American system of government, because the only way of making sure that the state will conduct its activi-

ties in accordance with public opinion is by entrusting a preponderance of control to the ordered voice of political opinion in the nation.

Congress is supposed to be the official sounding board for public opinion in the United States, but the question of its composition has been settled not by arranging that it should include representatives of all important sections of political thought, but by giving representation to its geographical districts.

An arrangement which, without misfiring, would contrive to place ex-Presidents and ex-nominees in Congress for at least limited periods would at one and the same time solve the personal problem of retired Chief Executives and accomplish the more important end of helping that great deliberative body to fulfill its high function.

John Quincy Adams saw all this clearly when, two years after retirement, he was invited to represent his Massachusetts district in Congress. He accepted the nomination, ran for the position, and held it continuously until he died. History already tends to rate this legislative service as fine a contribution to the nation as Adams's previous labors in the Presidency or the Department of State.

Andrew Johnson, a Chief Magistrate most unjustly maligned, has been the only other ex-President to render service in the legislative branch of the Federal government. Six years after he yielded office to General Grant, the dogged Tennesseean came back to Washington to take a seat in the Senate. He lived only long enough to deliver himself of one scathing denunciation of the iniquities of that administration. It is therefore impossible to judge the positive value of what he might have achieved. The important thing is that he dramatized the fact that in the American democracy there is but one proper place for an ex-President to express his political convictions and participate in the making of decisions on public policy—and that is in the great forum of the people, the Congress of the United States.

Implementing the Plan

The potential advantages and benefits flowing from conservation of good leadership are of such magnitude that the working out of the idea should not even be required to depend on the ex-President's or ex-nominee's ability to win at the polls. It frequently happens that a state electorate puts its own special interests so far above the general interest that it is virtually impossible for a native son with broad national vision to command a hearing. We have taken this risk throughout our history—and particularly since 1842—insofar as the regular members of

Congress are concerned. But we cannot afford to take the risk in the case of the men whose continued leadership is at stake under the proposed plan. It is suggested, therefore, that these simple rules be adopted: let an ex-President be given a seat in the Senate for four years following conclusion of his term of office. Let the nominee of the major party defeated in the last election be given a seat in the Senate for four years so that for the duration of the term during which he might have been President he may serve as leader of the United States Government's Loyal Opposition. The remuneration of each should be equal to that of the Vice-President; unlike him, they should be eligible to vote on all questions.

It is submitted that these changes would be entirely appropriate in a country governed so completely by parties as is the United States and that it would tend to institutionalize the party system and give it the fairest chance it has ever had to function constructively in the conduct of public affairs. It would furnish a much more valuable check on one-sided action than that now supplied by the artificial checks and balances of the tripartite division of powers. From the standpoint of a defeated candidate previously unknown on the national stage, it should be especially attractive, for it would give him an opportunity to show the real caliber of his leadership. But the greatest advantage of all would be that, since public opinion functions through the party system, formal recognition of party leadership would automatically bring the practice of government in closer alignment with its theory than ever before.

The Constitutional Aspect

Here as elsewhere it is necessary to acknowledge that the wisdom and desirability of a plan are no guarantee of its legal validty. Bryce mentioned the idea of giving ex-Presidents a seat in the Senate only to dismiss it in the next sentence by citing the Constitutional barriers to its adoption and by suggesting that state pride would prove an insuperable political stumbling block. But 1938 is not 1888. The Constitution has been amended formally on six different occasions since publication of the first edition of *The American Commonwealth* and, in addition, the country has become fully conscious that there are other ways of making innovations in the American way than by the procedure outlined in Article V.

Perhaps it would take a Constitutional amendment. Maybe that would not be impossible of achievement. There are, after all, a number of reasons for believing that the political aspects of the proposal do not

add up to zero. To begin with there would be no necessity for the parties to disagree over it. State pride is at low ebb today compared to what it was in the nineteenth century. Presidential candidates invariably come from the more populous commonwealths and there has lately been some definite discussion of the propriety of increasing the Senatorial representation of some of the larger states. Not a single Presidential campaign passes into history without some editor or columnist getting favorable mention for recommending that the talents of the defeated candidate be conserved by arranging for him to sit in the Senate.

One interesting possibility that should not be overlooked is that the scheme outlined here might be combined with the long-discussed proposal to enfranchise the residents of the District of Columbia at least for participation in Presidential elections. For purposes of casting an electoral vote for the Presidency, the District could be admitted to the Union as a new "state." The President could be its Governor and the Congress its legislature—more or less as they are today. It already has its own judiciary. Its representation in Congress would then be effectuated as follows: the retiring President and the defeated major nominee would automatically become the "state's" two Senators. (In instances of re-election it could be provided that the President appoint someone to fill the second seat, subject to confirmation by Congress.) The nominee of the leading minor party could be given a seat in the lower house to satisfy the requirement that every state must have at least one Representative.

A final political consideration favoring adoption of a plan of this kind is that once it were in operation the threat of the third-term tradition being broken would be practically eliminated.

Fortunately the time is propitious for a start. Through the happy circumstance that the Senatorial term of the bumbling Dr. Copeland expires in 1940, President Roosevelt has an opportunity, almost made to order, not only to continue as spokesman for that section of public opinion which agrees with him politically, but also to give a powerful impetus toward formal adoption of the plan. To stand for the post would be to be elected.

Conserving Opinion Leadership

There have been ten Presidential elections since the turn of the century. Of the fourteen men who could have entered the Senate under this plan, every one represented a significant section of American public opinion. The ex-Presidents were Roosevelt I, Taft, Wilson, Coolidge, and Hoover. The ex-nominees included Bryan,

Parker, Bryan a second time, Roosevelt I, Hughes, Cox, Davis, Smith, and Landon.

Enumeration of these names is itself sufficient to establish the fact that the ex-Presidency and the ex-nomineeship constitute a great reservoir of experienced leadership in public opinion which so far—to the potential embarrassment of the individuals and the definite impoverishment of the nation—has gone untapped. "Conservation" is a by-word in the land these days. Will a country which a generation ago started to conserve its natural resources continue to neglect the greatest of its human resources, its democratic leadership? The Roman republic took very careful pains to gather into its Senate all those who had shown wisdom and skill or had acquired fame and experience in serving the state, and it did not acknowledge public opinion as its master. How much more, therefore, should the United States be careful to conserve their political leadership in their own Senate?

MOULDING PUBLIC OPINION UNDER THE FRENCH DIRECTORY

By GEORGIA ROBISON

Miss Robison is Lecturer in History at Barnard College.

It happened in the Rue St. Jacques, just off the Rue Soufflot, not very much farther than the shadow of the Panthéon could reach. The day was dull and soft, nearly raining. It was early in May 1932. Crowds had been gathering and waiting since early morning, and it would soon be noon. As the side streets filled, shopkeepers pulled down metal covers or unfolded wooden shutters to protect their glass windows from cracking under the impact of some unfortunate push or jostle. Here and there a child on his father's shoulders looked over the people, elbowing and milling and chattering yet hushed as they tried to push through to the front ranks or at least to stand their ground. As the hours wore on, the space for each person shrank from a square yard to a square foot.

Not far from the corner, close to the protection of a shuttered shop window, a middle-aged woman had set up a stepladder where her young son could look down into the Rue Soufflot. He was small for his seven or eight years, and muffled in a wool-

len scarf that all but swallowed him. She kept explaining everything to him, that the President Doumer had been a great man, that everyone must pay respect to the procession as it passed, that the cortège must certainly have left Notre Dame and be well on its way. She spoke quietly, even when the procession did arrive and bands played while the princes of Europe marched by. Then a detachment of the Republican Guard rode up. Suddenly, overcome by emotion, she cried out, "Regarde, Jean, regarde! Voilà la France!"

If Revelliere-lépeaux, member of the Executive Directory of the First French Republic, could have come back from his century and more of oblivion in Père Lachaise, he would have wept for joy to hear the outcry. Revelliere-lépeaux did not fear emotions, nor was he embarrassed at expressing them. He believed that success in governing could be achieved and consolidated only by recognizing and controlling the individual and collective emotions of the citizenry of France. He advocated techniques of social control that have a startlingly familiar ring to modern ears.

Framer of the Constitution

Revelliere-lépeaux was a member of the Directory from its very beginning. In October 1795 he was elected to his place by a larger majority of votes than any one of his four colleagues, and he remained in office until June 1799, when the coup d'état of Prairial removed him from politics. In 1789 he had come as a deputy to the Estates General, loyal to the king but hoping that Louis XVI would revise his government in conformity with Rousseau's ideas of popular sovereignty. The king did not understand Jean-Jacques; Revelliere-lépeaux was disillusioned. Neither did the Paris crowds understand. Again Revelliere-lépeaux was disillusioned. His brother was guillotined. He himself spent the Terror in hiding, constantly in fear of discovery and death. Then in 1795 he sat on the committee that framed the Constitution of the Year III, giving suffrage to men of his own milieu. This constitution he worshipped.

The whole of France was far from sharing Revelliere-lépeaux's enthusiasm for the Constitution of the Year III. The Directory began its work under the constraint of unpopularity. For a time the Councils supported the Directors because two-thirds of the legislators had been carried over from the Convention. The legislature was more sensitive to public opinion, however, than the executive branch of the government, because each year one-third of the legislators were replaced while only one of the five Directorial chairs was filled. Each succeeding election, there-

fore, bringing the Councils closer to actual public opinion, widened the gulf between legislators and executives.

Revelliere-lépeaux felt the foundations of Directorial power slipping. He realized that the prime question before the Directory was that of regaining the loyalty of the nation, of the people whom he believed were being misled. He did not shrink from using force to obtain obedience to the government—note the coup d'état of Fructidor—but he believed that true loyalty is inculcated only by slow teaching. He believed himself quite capable of prescribing methods suitable for the inculcation of republican patriotism, and in two addresses, delivered in May and October 1797, before the Class of Moral and Political Science at the Institut, he set forth his program for uniting all citizens in fervent loyalty to the régime of the Constitution of the Year III. The first of these two addresses, *Réflexions sur le culte, sur les cérémonies civiles et sur les fêtes nationales,* printed immediately afterward in a twenty-page pamphlet, described the framework of the new social order he hoped to see rise from the ruins of the old régime. The second address, half as long, *Essai sur les moyens de faire participer l'universalité des spectateurs à tout ce qui se pratique dans les fêtes nationales,* furnished a detailed blueprint for one part of the proposed framework, the national public festivals.

A New Régime

In both these addresses, Revelliere-lépeaux took for granted that the old order, both political and religious, had passed away. He believed that loyalties to kings and to the Catholic Church were thoroughly uprooted. He hastened to point out, however, that human nature abhors being uprooted, that man, having experienced abrupt changes, tends either to fall back into the old ways through force of habit or to be misled by new and worse superstition—unless some new object worthy of veneration is presented to him. As long as the country was in political confusion, Revelliere-lépeaux believed, it had been of little use to recast social institutions, but, when a new and adequate constitution had been in force for two years, the moment was at hand to undertake seriously the task of buttressing the new régime by social reorganization. Ethical values, unfortunately overturned in revolutionary confusion, had to be reaffirmed. A three-fold social reformation was imperative. Individual morality had to be cultivated. The influence of the family needed strengthening. Finally, every man, woman, and child was to be impressed with a consciousness of sharing the responsibilities and the joys

of the new republic. To achieve this reformation, Revelliere-lépeaux proposed a three-fold scheme. He began:

> I divide basic institutions into three categories, religious cult, civil ceremonies, and national fêtes; they should all be bound together and, so to speak, modeled according to the same pattern, so that any discordant note may be avoided and so that the whole may move forward with an irresistible force toward the joint purpose: preservation of morality and maintenance of the republic.

Religion, he continued, should deal with ethical problems, teaching man how to love God and his fellow beings. It should make man good by appealing to his heart and sentiments as well as to his mind. Although a few thinking men can dispense with outward forms of religious exercise, the great majority need the stimulus of public worship. For this majority a cult should be established, but it should be kept severely simple in form; as to dogma, it should profess only a two-fold belief in the existence of a deity, rewarder of virtue and punisher of evil, and in the immortality of the soul. Two principles should then suffice as guides in everyday living: adoration of God and love of one's fellow man. Civil ceremonies, in the second place, under the direction of the state, should provide a dignified setting, without ostentation or parade, for solemnizing the three most important events of human existence: birth, marriage, and death. In the national fête, on the contrary, all possible means of pomp and magnificence should be employed to impress the crowds of citizens celebrating simultaneously their devotion to each other, to their fatherland, and to humanity.

In developing his three-fold system, Revelliere-lépeaux, although he repudiated the Catholic Church and the political cult of kings, was entirely willing to take over their methods of gaining and holding allegiance. He conceded the wisdom of the old church in employing everywhere the same form of worship; he admitted that the king's court had impressed the multitude with its pomp. He insisted upon the necessity for simplifying religious form and upon curbing unnecessary expenditure in national celebration, but he recommended uniformity of observance in religious worship and in state ceremonies, and for great occasions he urged the kind of pomp and order calculated to win the spontaneous admiration of the crowd. Above all, he would have the new régime avail itself of all forms of music in appealing to the emotions, the memories, and the unspoken aspirations of the individual and of the multitude.

State Ceremonies

Just as Revelliere-lépeaux's central political problem was to win

active loyalty of the citizenry to the constitution, so the focal point of his interest in state ceremonies was the question of bringing about active participation of all the spectators. He envisaged a great amphitheater on the Champ-de-Mars, to be constructed of wood and then replaced by stone as the years passed. This amphitheater would be divided into sections so arranged that all eyes might focus upon a central altar dedicated to the fatherland. Before this altar ceremonies would be performed on state holidays. Revelliere-lépeaux had no amplifier at his disposal, but when he considered the necessity of making orators heard by a great crowd it occurred to him that the same oration might be read simultaneously to all sections of the amphitheater by skilled speakers using megaphones. When national airs were to be played, he would have an orchestra for each section, all following a common director at the center. He even hoped that the great multitude might sing together, and his friend the musician Méhul agreed with him, so he announced to the Institut, that simple melodies with marked rhythms might be arranged successfully for the mass chorus.

Revelliere-lépeaux's scheme of institutions was not received as he had hoped. A deistic cult of Theophilanthropy did have its moment of popularity, but that was brief. The great national fêtes came near realization on a few occasions while François de Neufchâteau was minister of interior, but they failed to strike deep roots. The pronouncements at the Institut were regarded by some people as childish, by others as utopian. Revelliere-lépeaux's admirers approved, but both friends and enemies said openly that he had showed his hand too clearly with regard to Theophilanthropy. The government—and he was of the government—could scarcely advocate a policy of secret protection of an appropriate cult, one that sounded like a replica of Theophilanthropy, and still expect the public to believe that Theophilanthropy was innocent of government protection.

Three years after the Institut had listened to Revelliere-lépeaux's plan to provide the political constitution of the First French Republic with fitting social institutions, France was a republic only in name. In 1800 Bonaparte was First Consul. Four years after the addresses at the Institut had rendered Revelliere-lépeaux suspect of protecting Theophilanthropy, the cult had nearly died of its own inertia, and Bonaparte had ended its career by refusing it the right of public meeting. The Concordat of 1801 reestablished Catholicism as the state religion. One hundred and forty years later, in 1938, Europe has more than one

stadium such as Revelliere-lépeaux dreamed; not, though, on the Champ-de-Mars, and not inculcating loyalty to constitutional republics. The stadia today are in Italy, in Russia, and in Germany.

The Dangerous Weapons

Revelliere-lépeaux's techniques of social control were dangerous weapons, cutting both ways, and he knew it. Some of the methods he had taken frankly from religion he branded as superstitious and from governments he accused of smothering liberty. Even so, in 1797, he believed that such techniques might be employed to encourage deism and republicanism in the new era as competently as they had supported the throne and the Catholic Church under the old régime. He dared look forward to the time when all Frenchmen would

> rival each other in making the republic so great that she would command the admiration of the whole world, so prosperous that she might be an example for all her neighbors, so strong that none of her enemies dare attack her; finally, so attractive and so worthy of love that the very traitor in the act of striking to ruin her, held back by remorse even more than by fear, should feel the dagger slip from his hand, while his heart, filled with a saving repentance, should be opened to love of the fatherland.

The woman in black, exclaiming to her son on the stepladder as he looked down into the Rue Soufflot, might offer Revelliere-lépeaux solace.

ORGANIZED GROUPS

Edited by E. PENDLETON HERRING

This department surveys the activities of political parties, trade associations, labor unions, professional organizations, and the host of leagues, societies, and councils that bring men together for some common purpose. Attention centers upon problems relevant to all organized effort to secure a cohesive following and to rally public support, not upon the merits or shortcomings of particular policies or objectives.

SUGAR AND PUBLIC OPINION

By JOHN E. DALTON

The author, a former member of the faculty of the Harvard School of Business Administration, was chief of the Sugar Section of the AAA, 1934-35, *and at present is Assistant to the President of the National Sugar Refining Company of New Jersey. He is also Executive Secretary of the United States Cane Sugar Refiners Association.*

The rôle played by the public in expressing its opinion has changed drastically in recent years as our national government has exercised larger control over economic matters. In many instances this control is carried out by administrative officers under broad powers delegated by the legislative branch. The officers are not only administrators but have semi-legislative and even judicial duties. In the performance of those duties the incidence of pressure from the public has shifted in part from the legislative to the administrative branch of the government. An excellent illustration of this general trend is found in the case of sugar.

Although the widespread American sugar industry has always been affected by government policy, it has never been under such strict national control as has prevailed in the last four years. This control was inaugurated by the New Deal Sugar Act of 1934 (Pub. 213) and was continued in substantially its original form by the Sugar Act of 1937 (Pub. 414). Current government interventionism in sugar is tantamount to government control without outright government ownership—control primarily for the assistance of producers.

The character of our sugar system has not always been as complex as it is today. But complex or simple,

the public interest has always been affected. The nature of the public interest and the method by which that interest has expressed itself has varied from period to period. The complex of "sugar policy—public interest—public opinion" before the New Deal Sugar Act falls into three periods: (1) 1789 to the Spanish-American War, (2) the Spanish-American War to the Great War, and (3) the Great War to 1934.

1. The first tariff schedule of the United States (1789) provided for a duty on tropical raw sugar and that duty, although varying as to rate, continued throughout the nineteenth century. The duty had as its chief function the raising of revenue, although it also raised the price of refined sugar to consumers and gave a price protection to the small but long established cane sugar industry in Louisiana. The objection raised against this duty was not the general objection against protectionism but was a protest against raising Federal revenue by taxing "the poor man's food." Debate on whether sugar should be taxed was heard at national elections. The issue was simple and well understood and, although the sugar tax remained constantly in effect, it met violent public criticism from time to time.

2. About the time of the Spanish-American War, public opinion was articulate on the broad question of imperialism, and here again sugar played an important rôle. Free trade and anti-imperialism were heralded in the daily press. Here again the issue was simple and well understood by the public; consequently the public was vocal in its condemnation or praise of our new policy.

Our political power was extended beyond our shores to Hawaii, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Cuba, and with it went an economic influence over the life of those islands. The Republicans then in power were criticized bitterly by the Democrats on two counts. They objected not only to the extension of American territory but to the increased protection which was afforded the new American sugar areas. Whereas three American islands had previously paid a duty upon their raw cane sugar,[1] they were definitely assured the right to ship that product into the United States without payment. An important tariff concession was given to Cuba on her sugar. The result, of course, was that these four low-cost tropical islands produced more and more raw sugar for the U.S. market.

In 1913, a Liberal Democratic Administration, led by Woodrow Wilson, persuaded Congress to reduce the duty on sugar with total

[1] The Kingdom of Hawaii, by trade treaty, had enjoyed free entry for its sugar since 1876

elimination in view. This plan, however, was completely upset by the World War which brought on acute shortage of supply, both at home and for our allies. Under these circumstances, the National Administration about-faced. Instead of a policy of free trade, a war program was developed to foster, in every conceivable way, an increased production of sugar, not only in continental United States, but in our three insular areas and Cuba. Free sugar became a dead public issue after that war experience.

3. From the Great War until 1934, the tariff on sugar was raised three times. During this period there was little or no criticism of a protective policy for this commodity. Public opinion did not express itself on that issue; it assumed the continuation of sugar protectionism as a matter of national defense. The question became rather, how much the protection should be. The question of "how much" of course posed the problem of the amount of price protection which was necessary to "sustain" the domestic and insular industries against the competition of our chief foreign low-cost competitor, Cuba.

The Tariff Commission had been established to ascertain such points of fact, not only for sugar but for any other commodity which met foreign price competition. The difference between domestic and Cuban costs of production became the subject of an elaborate investigation made in the early 1920s. Experts in a governmental agency sought to ascertain the facts (difference in cost) to carry out effectively a national policy established by Congress (Protectionism). The Commission recommended that a decrease be made in the sugar duty, but President Coolidge, after hearing directly the pleas of the various sugar groups, decided against accepting the Tariff Commission's report and refused to reduce the rate (June 15, 1925). The making of tariff rates had been delegated by Congress to the President, and with that came a shifting of group pressure. The White House, not Congress, became the focus of the sugar debate. The group most widely affected, that is the consumer, was without formal advocate.

New Deal Sugar Policy

When the present administration came to Washington in 1933 a new sugar policy was developed. When the Sugar Act was written, there was no debate as to whether or not a protective sugar system should be maintained. That issue had been killed by the war and by a new agricultural policy. The debate which took place was over the form of the protectionism. All the important sugar interests, including Cuba and the domestic refiners, fought to obtain a fair deal in sugar stabiliza-

tion. The method finally adopted through the quota system was to divide the total requirements for the American market among the sugar interests of the beet area and the domestic cane area, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Cuba on an historical basis, subject to interpretation by the Secretary of Agriculture. Quotas on refined sugar made in the tropical islands were also established to protect home labor and industry.

Traditionally, the Democratic Party stood for lower tariffs, and in 1933 it attempted to gain these objectives by means of reciprocity treaties. But a lower duty (via reciprocity treaties) for Cuban sugar would have had serious repercussion at home. It would have brought distress to the domestic sugar beet farmers and the planters of cane in Louisiana and Florida. It would have hurt our American islands. The task before the Administration, therefore, was to work out a sugar program which would aid Cuba and, at the same time, bring a fair farm price to continental cane and beet producers. The result was the Sugar Act of 1934.

The decision in 1934 as to the sharing of the market was a complex one. The important fact, however, is that the final decision respecting quotas was left to take place in the halls of the Department of Agriculture rather than in the halls of Congress. This might have been expected. An economic emergency existed in sugar, the problem was complicated, and Congress had larger issues with which to contend. Emergencies mean action rather than debate, and a new national policy for a billion dollar industry was formulated without adequate opportunity for the expression and play of public opinion.

The control of sugar at the present time means essentially the control of price, and hence the largest group affected consists of the 130,000,000 persons in the United States who pay an annual sugar bill of over $700,000,000. The Sugar Act in addition determines the incomes, in whole or part, of about 1,000,000 farmers, planters, workers, and investors, not only in continental United States but also in the sugar islands.

Broad Federal Power

To understand the possible rôle of public opinion one must first glance at the powers exercised by the government. Interventionism in sugar comes about largely through the exercise of two Federal powers: regulation of interstate and foreign commerce, and the making of expenditures for the general welfare. Under the Sugar Act, the control of commerce in sugar is very broad, being direct and indirect. Federal cash bounties are paid to producers of beets and cane (continental, Hawai-

ian, and Puerto Rican) only when those producers have met the elaborate conditions regarding wages, soil practices, and crop control, which are established by the Secretary of Agriculture, the administrator of the Act. Via commerce control and conditioned bounty payments, then, the Secretary controls every cog in the American sugar machine. He determines the number of acres to be planted, the methods of cultivation, the rates of wages paid, the amounts of sugar beets and sugar cane processed, and the amount of sugar which is marketed.

The control of marketings brings an indirect control of price. It is obvious that the exercise of such broad powers by an administrative agent would affect the economic interest of many groups. Such agricultural and industrial control in the United States, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Cuba regulates to a large measure the incomes of farmers, laborers, and stockholders. A necessary corollary of this is that the various economic groups involved must be tightly organized for the purpose of protecting their interest. A partial list of the major groups involved in sugar is shown in the accompanying table.

In addition to these economic interests, there have been, from time to time, informal organizations which have brought their cases before the government. Labor is the best example. Inasmuch as the Secretary of Agriculture now has the power to fix wages on beet and cane farms, it is expected that agricultural labor will become more vocal in its demands for a share in the protectionism afforded sugar. The interest of consumers which, in this case, means the public (because every citizen consumes

Economic Groups Interested in Sugar

Name	*Area*	*Interest*
National Beet Growers' Association	Western beet states	Beet farmers
Farmers' and Manufacturers' Association	Eastern beet states	Beet farmers and beet sugar factories
U.S. Beet Sugar Association	Western beet states	Beet sugar factories
Sugar Beet Workers of America	Western beet states	Agricultural labor
American Sugar Cane League	Louisiana	Planters and processors of cane
U.S. Sugar Corporation	Florida	Planter-processor
Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association	Hawaii	Planter-processors of cane
Philippine Sugar Association	Philippine Islands	Planter-processors of cane
U.S. Cane Sugar Refiners' Association	Nine seaboard states	Management and capital in cane sugar refining industry
Sugar Workers' Alliance	Nine seaboard states	Refining labor, Joint Committee representing A.F. of L., C.I.O., and unorganized labor.
Cuban Sugar Stabilization Institute	Cuba	Planters-processors

sugar) is not as well organized or as highly articulate as the interest of other groups. The price of sugar is now near the record low levels for this country and as a consequence the consumer cannot feel burdened by the terms of the sugar bill. Public opinion would become more expressive in the problem of sugar if that commodity, like meat in the recent past, went skyrocketing in price.

Recent Legislation

The most important feature of the Sugar Act of 1934, and its successor, the Sugar Act of 1937, is that the Secretary of Agriculture has the power to regulate the flow of sugar into the American market, and hence the indirect power to regulate its price. In other words, one administrative official is given power to determine the amount by which the protected domestic price should exceed the free world price. In the days before 1934, the committees in Congress, or the Tariff Commission, had wrestled with this problem. But today the Secretary has been granted this power by Congress; the decisions—what price the consumers should pay for sugar, and what incomes should be received by the various sugar-producing areas—are in the hands of one administrative official.

Public opinion must be articulate to help formulate standards of performance. What standards are to be used by the Secretary of Agriculture in determining the price? On this point the Act is extremely vague. The preamble states that the general purpose of the legislation is "to protect the welfare of consumers of sugar and all those engaged in the domestic sugar-producing industry; to promote the export trade of the United States. . . ." These words "protect," "welfare," "promote," are of little assistance to an administrative officer in carrying out the complicated provisions of the Act.

Title II of the Act provides that the Secretary of Agriculture shall estimate the requirements of consumers and limit the marketings of sugar to that ascertained amount. In order that the regulation shall not result, ". . . in excessive prices to consumers . . .," the Secretary may change his estimate of consumption, but such changes shall not result, ". . . in prices to consumers in excess of those necessary to maintain the domestic sugar industry as a whole . . .," and in no case shall the amount permitted entry be less than the actual consumption per capita in 1935 and 1936. Translated into realities, this gives little assistance. Prices are not to be "excessive." They are to be at levels to "maintain the domestic industry." Such words as "excessive" and "maintain" have no specific economic meaning, and consequently they give a free hand to

the Secretary of Agriculture to establish prices which, in his judgment, are in the "interest" of consumers and not contrary to the "interest" of farmers.

A serious criticism of the present Sugar Act is that it has to a large extent displaced public opinion with private and official opinion in forming national economic policy. The Secretary's determination as to how much sugar should be marketed each year, and consequently as to what the price should be, is made without public hearing. Interested parties, whether consumers or producers, do not have the opportunity of airing their views. At least they do not have the opportunity to air them openly. Under these circumstances, it is inevitable that pressure is brought upon the Secretary by various economic groups to determine sugar prices at levels which would not be contrary to their interest. If price-fixing powers are delegated by Congress to administrative officials, this type of administrative lobby is inevitable and cannot be condemned. Obviously, the public should be in a position to express itself on this point as well as the economic interests operating under a controlled scheme. The experience in sugar poses this difficult and timely question, Can price-fixing by government be carried out without completely modifying the traditional democratic process of debate in open forum? The recently enacted agricultural bill (414) raises the identical problem, for through it the Secretary of Agriculture will have the power of fixing prices of practically all our major agricultural products. This price-fixing will take place, however, without open debate.

When the hastily written Sugar Act of 1934 was passed, an emergency existed in the industry. When the Act was rewritten in 1937, more time was available and substantial improvements of a legal and administrative character were made in it. However, even by 1937 a thorough analysis had not been made by the government as to the effect of the quota system upon the various economic interests—consumers, farmers, laborers, and stockholders. Before termination of the present act (1940), six and one-half years of strict government control will have passed. It can be expected by then that there will be sufficient economic and statistical evidence upon which a permanent sugar system can be built. It is noteworthy in this connection that the 1937 Act provided that "the Secretary is authorized to conduct surveys, investigation, and research relating to the conditions and factors affecting the method of accomplishing most effectively the purposes of this Act and for the benefit of agriculture generally in any area." To carry out this research, the Secretary

has ample funds, a trained staff, and the power to demand information.

It would be in the public interest for the Secretary of Agriculture to make a comprehensive survey of the manner in which the Sugar Act has affected the various interests. Specific recommendations should be made as to how consumers, producers, and laborers can be protected. A report of this kind, however, would be of greater value if written by an independent commission appointed by Congress. This does not mean that the Secretary of Agriculture is prejudiced or that his office lacks the facilities for making such an examination. It simply means that there should be a differentiation in government between those who administer laws and those who investigate that administration for the purpose of formulating national legislative policy.

An independent commission should be charged with the responsibility of reporting to Congress and the nation the type of sugar legislation which would protect the legitimate interest of producers and workers without prejudicing the interest of consumers. Hearings should be held not only in producing areas but also in the large consuming and refining districts. At these hearings the public would have an opportunity not only to become educated in the complexities of sugar but to express its own opinion. If there is to be a controlled system in sugar it is inevitable that the various groups involved will seek to gain the maximum benefits of that protection. Conflict of economic interest can best be solved when those conflicts are in the open. How they can be brought out into the open and made truly public is one of the problems which must be solved, if economic control by the government is not to deteriorate into an anti-democratic centralization of power.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE SOCIAL GOSPEL

By LEWIS A. DEXTER

Mr. Dexter, a graduate of the University of Chicago, will receive his master's degree in political science at Harvard this June. He is now a Fellow in Sociology at Columbia University.

At least seventeen Protestant[1] church bodies employ executives to represent their interest in various social reforms and to influence pub-

[1] Space confines this study to Protestant organizations, but similar developments have occurred within other religious groups. Vols. 2, 3, and 4 of the *Social Work Year Book* discuss Catholic and Jewish action.

While correspondence had to suffice for three, at least one representative of fourteen of these agencies was interviewed personally

lic opinion. These executives believe their job is the promotion of a better social order.

Although most of them are willing to be classed as propagandists, it is difficult to find any standard of comparison among themselves, let alone with other propagandists. There is little agreement as to the objectives or techniques of the "social gospel"[2]—whether the social action executive should present his constituents with a plan and a program, which he could try to get them to adopt, or whether he should merely respond to their requests for advice on social reform.

Most of the executives interviewed were presented with a line like the following:

A————————————B

The extreme right represented men whose concern is to remould the social order and the extreme left men whose concern is merely to advise and counsel when asked. Each was asked where he would place himself. Nearly all located themselves in the center of the line, most slightly to the left of center, when pressed.[3]

But such a division is too simple. A man may be a crusader in one field, a giver-of-advice-when-asked in another. For example, one secretary urges upon his churches a specific and unique program of international justice, but takes no initiative concerning family problems, to which he has devoted much attention.

It might be thought that such variations may result from differences in the control exercised by the major denominational executives over the policies of this department; but observation discloses no proof of such an hypothesis. It is worthy of remark that social action executives are at least as free as other denominational executives to choose their own policies.[4]

Relation to Central Authority

This generalization is valid despite the great formal differences in relationship between the social action departments and the central denominational authority. The American Friends' Service Committee, major social agency for American Quakerdom, is largely an independent organ-

[2] The social gospel, an indefinable, represents roughly the belief that Christianity demands that Christians should work through the church to create a social order more nearly fulfilling the Golden Rule, as this is interpreted by "liberals" or "radicals"

[3] The left-and-right dichotomy may have suggested "Marxism vs. Capitalism" and thus been unfortunate

[4] In general, there has been a tendency to divorce the social action executive from problems of church polity, probably for fear he might be too "radical." In the writer's opinion, this very divorce, through depriving him of concern with other problems of church statesmanship, has focused his attention on his own field exclusively, with a consequent tendency toward radicalism. Relative to his constituency, the Unitarian Director is probably more conservative than most of his compeers

ization, and even raises much of its budget from non-Quakers. The Director of Social Relations for the American Unitarian Association is a major denominational official, devoting part of his time to problems of church polity. He is on a par with the Director of Church Extension and Maintenance, for example. The organizational set-up of Presbyterians, Baptists, and Disciples is intolerably complicated. One is described thus:

> The Department of Social Education and Social Action is a Department in the Division of Christian Education of the United Christian Missionary Society of the Disciples of Christ. The Disciples of Christ is a congregational body that has no central ecclesiastical organization. . . . The United Christian Missionary Society is a legally constituted cooperative organization for such churches of our communion as desire to use its resources for cooperative work. . . . Therefore . . . the department . . . is responsible directly and legally to the Board of Trustees of the . . . Society. Since . . . the Board is elected by the International Convention of the Disciples of Christ, there is ultimate responsibility to that body.[5]

It is probable that organization makes less difference than the personality of the executives themselves, although many of them recorded a judgment that their work would continue of its own momentum, regardless of their retirement. It had been suggested that those who made such a guess would be most likely to be those who concerned themselves with reshaping society, but neither this hypothesis nor the reverse was substantiated.

However, the diversity of organization makes it impossible to compare church social action executives in the way that lobbies have been compared. The structure of legislative bodies funnels all lobbies into the same techniques. At first thought, it might appear that the business of the church social action executive would always be to influence local churches, and that the need for such influencing would create similar patterns of propaganda. Some social action executives select major projects which have little relation to the daily lives of members of their denomination; for instance, all that the three social action departments which publicize Eddy's Delta Cooperative Farm ask from their constituents is financial support. Also, one social action executive over a period of several years averaged more than three days a fortnight in policy meetings of non-denominational reform groups.

It is unusual to devote attention to removing denominational moats as well as non-denominational beams (or vice versa). A striking exception is the Episcopal Department of Christian Social Service which spends major effort in advising the numerous Episcopal social welfare institutions

[5] Letter from James A. Crain, Secretary of the Department.

(asylums, etc.). An attempt is made to improve standards, pensions, ratings, etc., and to bring those concerned with the administration of the institutions to envisage their activities as a Christian duty, operating within a changing and improvable social framework.

However, the apathy or hostility of Protestant church groups was in part responsible for the exemption of churches from sections of the Social Security Act, although most of these executives would heartily sympathize with the basic purpose of the act. Similarly, little effort has been devoted to removing discrimination against Negroes within one's own church, women within the ministry, ministers of poorer parishes, etc. Nor have vigorous attempts been made even to obtain fair labor standards for denominational employees or to expose occasional mishandling of church funds.[6]

The Methodist Board of Home Missions is not strictly classifiable as a social action agency; but it has organized "larger parishes" in poor areas, etc., and has been able to deal with some of these problems. Like the American Friends' Service Committee and, in some degree, like other Home Mission Boards, it has publicized little and organized intensively in a small sector, and has thus been able, better than many social relations departments, to translate ideals into specific practice.

There are at least three reasons for the fact, implied above, that most executives do not organize and follow through their work into the local churches:

(1) In order to give the impression they are on the job, they must travel a lot and be widely seen. Since most departments have only a few executives, this means that it is impossible to dig in in any given area and really assist in changing people's behaviors. All one can do, under such circumstances, is to speak and to encourage those already active.

(2) For obvious reasons, those who are good speakers tend to be selected for social action work. No emphasis is placed upon their organizing ability. Such men tend to derive more pleasure from speaking and being the center of the scene than from the less dramatic work of district organization. After all, who would captain a precinct when he could run for the Senate?

It is true that most departments attempt sporadically to organize local church committees on social action. No department has a very reliable

[6] This situation probably represents a survival of the missionary spirit which led to cleaning up the far corners of the earth before sweeping at home. The ethical terms above are presented from the standpoint which most of the churches would adopt

system of check and report; but it is probable that the majority of these committees live a mere paper existence. Executives usually rely upon the minister; and it is rare to find the policies of the central department followed in the face of his hostility or apathy.

(3) Social action executives are not good propagandists. They are attracted by three different possibilities—they may educate, they may "give testimony," they may propagandize. Education, as usually interpreted, consists in giving different views of controversial questions and acting upon the assumption that somehow or other, after sufficient subjection to such opinions, people will choose the "right" one. Actually, observation and experiment indicate that when exposed to different stimuli, people hesitate and are lost.

A sophisticated person who is able to present representative samples of "facts" and "theories" currently deemed important will not achieve success as a propagandist. The work must be done through ministers, and their training in the social sciences is inadequate from any standpoint.[7] For this reason, if for no other, such attempts rarely succeed as education. A very naïve person with only one viewpoint, and convinced that he is engaged in "education," may be more successful than a self-conscious propagandist, because he can more wholeheartedly use the honorific terminology of education.

"Giving Testimony"

More traditional in the church is the notion that the important thing is to give testimony before the Lord. Many anti-slavery agitators said as much: they were not concerned with conversion, their job was exhortation, i.e. letting the Lord know they realized sin was being done. Although few will explicitly admit it, many social action executives appear to prefer exhortation (which is easy) to education or propaganda (which, being systematic, are hard).

No necessary contradiction exists between conversion and exhortation; exhortation is ordinarily even a means toward conversion. But if one conceives of effective propaganda as *exhortation,* slight attention is then given the techniques of modern propaganda for influencing *behavior.* Most of the men in this field have a theological and ministerial back-

[7] Many ministers do not even have a theological training or equivalent. Even if they do, only 6.7 per cent of the work offered in the presumably better divinity schools is classified as Christian sociology (Mark A. May, *Education of American Ministers,* Vol. III, p. 42). Most of those who teach such courses have no background in systematic sociology or social research. It is extremely unusual to find any attempt to familiarize the students with the work of the various religious social action groups; and a real field awaits theological school executives who arrange courses, presented by competent teachers, which do this

ground; they have little familiarity with public relations work or experimental social psychology.

They were asked in different ways to present their own hypotheses about public opinion and to describe how they conceived of themselves as propagandists. Most were unable to answer such questions. They merely feel that their present organizations are pretty good but not large enough.

One thinks his colleagues mistakenly assume that the average citizen is already convinced that Christianity demands the social gospel, whereas, in fact, constant appeals to the Christian symbols must be made, if social change is to be permitted.

Only one statement which resembled a systematic theory of persuasion was given: it was declared that the effective propagandist sells himself first and then secures agreement to his beliefs. Therefore speaking is more effective than writing but personal contact better than either.[8]

In general a closer analysis of the relationship between ends and means might improve social action effectiveness. Such analysis might be easier if continuous attention were devoted to problems of the same kind by the same man. One helpful division might be made between (a) social relations where it is hoped to influence directly the ultimate consumer of the propaganda on such matters as family and sex problems, recreational advice and (b) social action where it is attempted to change an institutional structure (international affairs, birth control legislation, etc.). As denominationalism decreases, specialization of function might be secured through interdenominational cooperation between executives, each working chiefly in one field.

[8] But the executive who said this rarely deals with matters of intense primary concern to his people, but concentrates rather on international affairs and the South.

CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION

Edited by O. W. RIEGEL

This section is concerned with channels of communication, the press, radio, motion pictures, public forums, and other similar agencies. Events, trends, new developments, and problems of special interest to the student of public opinion are selected and reported.

JOINT OWNERSHIP OF NEWSPAPERS AND RADIO STATIONS

Increasing participation of newspaper companies in radio broadcasting through ownership and control of broadcasting stations has led to discussion, in Congress and elsewhere, of the advantages and disadvantages of joint ownership from the standpoint of public policy. A bill introduced in the House by Otha D. Wearin on January 28, 1937, to prohibit newspaper ownership or control of broadcasting stations, is pending. Burton K. Wheeler, chairman of the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee, has suggested that Congress consider the question, although he has introduced no bill. Comments on the issue have been made by the General Counsel of the Federal Communications Commission, Hampson Gary, in a letter to the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee dated May 5, 1937, and in a report prepared by T. A. M. Craven, while he was Chief Engineer of the FCC, made public late in January 1938.

In view of the social and economic importance of the question of joint ownership to both newspapers and radio, and in view of the significance of the question in terms of the character and type of service of two leading opinion-forming agencies, THE PUBLIC OPINION QUARTERLY *has obtained statements from persons concerned in which opposing views are expressed on the issues involved.*

AGAINST JOINT OWNERSHIP

By OTHA D. WEARIN

Mr. Wearin is a Democratic Representative in Congress from Iowa, and introduced the measure upon which he comments.

The bill, HR-3892, which I introduced in the House of Representatives on January 28, 1937, to amend the Communications Act of 1934, is designed to bring about a complete divorcement of newspapers from the ownership and operation of broadcasting stations.

Newspapers and radio stations constitute the two major agencies of disseminating public opinion. In the past we have been vitally concerned over the freedom of the press, and in the future the problem of freedom of the individual to do his own thinking without the interference of monopolistic control of the agencies upon which he bases his conclusions in that thinking will unquestionably be equally vital. It would be an unfortunate thing for the American people, or for any section of them, to be handicapped through having the agencies of dissemination of public opinion in the control of a single individual or organization. It should be the duty of the Federal government to guarantee the average individual safety from the danger of monopolistic control of public opinion.

Of recent years there has been a pronounced tendency on the part of newspapers to acquire broadcasting facilities. It should be noted that out of a total of 689 stations licensed for operation on January 1, 1937, making allowances for a few against which suits are now pending, newspapers own, have an interest in or an option to purchase, approximately 194 of them. During the year just past there has been a considerable interest on the part of publications to obtain licenses to operate radio stations. Roughly one-third of those granted from January 1, 1936, to January 1, 1937, were granted to newspaper owners or to parties who combined their interest in printed publications with the operation of such radio stations. Fifty-two stations were acquired by newspapers either through purchase or transfer of ownership or by construction permit during the calendar year 1936.

In the forepart of January 1937, 102 applications were pending from newspaper interests seeking radio stations. In addition thereto, seven applications for voluntary assignments of existing stations to newspaper interests were pending. Of the ten new stations authorized by the FCC during the first six weeks of 1937, between January 1 and February 15, five were grants to newspaper interests.

Legal Questions Involved

It should be understood definitely that all radio broadcasting is unquestionably within the regulatory power of Congress under the commerce clause of the Constitution. The first thought that comes to the mind of the average man is the possibility of curtailing the freedom of speech or the press, but since ownership or control of a broadcasting company is not essential to the right to be heard or to the dissemination of news, facts, or opinions, the ownership or control of a broadcasting station as a business enterprise has nothing to do with the

freedom of speech or of the press itself, because the newspaper would still have the same right to communicate through the agency of the printed page that is enjoyed by any other person or class.

With reference to the matter of property rights involved in the proposal to divest newspapers of the ownership of radio stations: in the first place, the granting of a license to an individual does not give the licensee any vested property right. This particular matter was decided in the now famous WIBO case by the Supreme Court, and provided for under Sections 304 and 309 (b) of the Communications Act. And since broadcast licenses must be renewed every six months the right to hold or acquire property does not appear to be involved in the legislation I have introduced. There is, of course, the possibility of certain limitations upon the legislation which might arise out of the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution. The protection of a person or class of persons as to equality under the law exists under that Amendment and has been definitely upheld in a long line of reasonably consistent decisions which indicate that classification is a necessary adjunct to the power to regulate.

The proposed Act would, undoubtedly, be a regulation of interstate commerce, and I cannot challenge the fact that it would likewise discriminate against a class and in such an event the question arises as to whether or not the power of Congress to make such a regulation is limited by the due process clause. It should, however, appear well settled that Congress, in the exercise of its power to regulate interstate commerce, may and has interfered directly with private rights which otherwise might be protected by the due process clause.

Public Opinion Implications

Anyone is within his rights to inquire whether such legislative action has a reasonable relationship to the purpose which is within the authority of Congress. The principle is enunciated in the case of Lewis Publishing Company *v.* Morgan, wherein the legality of certain conditions imposed by Congress on the eligibility to use the second-class mail was attacked, upon the contention that it violated both the First and Fifth Amendments. The court held that Congress, by establishing the second-class postal privilege was giving effect to a policy of favoring a widespread circulation of newspapers and periodicals in the interest of the dissemination of current intelligence. From this case it is evident that if the proposed legislation denying newspaper owners the right to own or control a broadcasting station has a reasonable relationship to a purpose which Con-

gress has the power under the commerce clause to accomplish, then the incidental or indirect interference with personal liberty is not repugnant to either the First or the Fifth Amendments. Further, the test which the courts have a right to apply as to whether there is any reasonable relationship between the purpose and the means used to accomplish it, namely the prevention of the rise of a monopoly of public opinion, must be kept separate and distinct from the question as to the wisdom of the policy, power over which is vested entirely within the legislative branch of the government.

Legislation similar to the type contemplated herein is found in Sections 310 (a) and 311 of the Communications Act of 1934, wherein the Commission is directed to refuse to grant a license to an enumerated class of persons, among them being aliens, representatives of foreign governments, foreign corporations, and also persons found guilty of unlawful monopoly as defined therein. The proposed legislation would, of course, impose a prohibition against a class, for example newspaper owners, and in that respect would most assuredly be analogous to Section 310 (a) of the present Act which contains a similar prohibition against aliens.

After examining the effect of the legislation upon the freedom of the press and of speech, the First and Fifth Amendments, let it also be remembered that all radio broadcasting is interstate commerce; that, under the Constitution, the Congress has the power to regulate interstate and foreign commerce.

Importance of the Question

The criterion to be applied at this point of our reasoning is whether the proposed legislation has a reasonable relationship to a purpose which is within Constitutional authority. It is doubtful if even the opponents of my bill will contend that the mutual ownership of and control of newspapers and broadcasting stations does not bear a reasonable relationship to and has an effect upon interstate commerce. Because of that fact there can be no doubt that Congress does have the authority to legislate in this particular field.

The invention of the radio has placed this difficult problem upon the shoulders of statesmanship. Radio, television and the talking film are destined to affect the process and scope of education with results as revolutionary as those that followed in the wake of the printing press and the invention of movable type. Public opinion recognizes no state boundaries and should not be monopolized. The influence of the new agencies of influencing that public opinion can be very great if their use is safeguarded to the rights of the

common people, or it can be very bad if the leadership of this nation, regardless of its political color, allows them to fall into the hands of monopolists. Of all the monopolies the world has ever known none could be as bad as a monopoly of public opinion in the hands of any existing agency of news dissemination be it newspaper, magazine, radio, or political party.

FOR JOINT OWNERSHIP

By ALFRED H. KIRCHHOFER

Mr. Kirchhofer is managing editor of the Buffalo, N.Y., "News," executive director of Stations WBEN and WEBR, Buffalo, and president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors.

Newspapers should not have preference in radio assignments but, on the other hand, no sound reason has been advanced to justify the discrimination involved in pending proposals to prohibit a newspaper from owning a radio station, so long as the station is operated in the public interest.

To enact that any class of citizens should be barred from operating a radio station simply opens the door to a future policy that might bar labor groups, church groups, even educational interests from radio operation. Such a law, even if its Constitutionality were conceded, would establish the dangerous precedent of approving class legislation and discrimination between classes of citizens. Such a precedent is contrary to and repugnant to the American form of government, but once established could easily be used to support such discrimination in other fields than radio broadcasting.

Furthermore, such a law would have the effect of putting American citizens who are engaged in the publication of newspapers, so far as radio stations are concerned, into the same class with those who have been convicted of criminal offenses. No fair-minded person entertains the idea that newspaper publishers should be so classified or so prohibited from exercising the full rights of American citizenship.

American System at Stake

So long as the present American system of radio broadcasting is maintained in the United States, there can be no sound reason for barring qualified newspapers from operating radio stations, unless the purpose is punitive. The public has too large a stake in radio broadcasting and the elements of free speech involved to submit while a branch of the industry, which has contributed as much to the advancement of the art as have the newspaper stations, is thus removed from the field.

Other broadcasters, some of them slyly encouraging such a short-sighted policy, have too much at stake to permit its consummation without their vehement opposition. Such a move might be only the first step toward eventual destruction of the American system of broadcasting.

It is unfortunate that justifiable criticism may well be directed against some policies of some newspaper-owned stations, but that is no more reason for barring all newspaper ownership on that account than it would be to prohibit all present radio licensees from owning and operating stations because some of their number still operate under policies which good newspaper practice outlawed years ago. Admittedly, radio on the whole has some housecleaning to do and the sooner it is done the better. But it nevertheless remains a fact that many newspaper-owned and operated stations, which for years have been rendering distinguished public service, still are doing so. There are peculiar and valid reasons for this. Newspapers do have a public-service background; they have experience in knowing what the public wants and giving it so far as good taste permits; they have experience which enables them to resist the determined efforts of some advertisers to break down regulations adopted in the public interest; they have, above everything else, a tradition of free speech and accurate reporting which, no matter how easy it may seem to replace, is an inheritance that should be protected and maintained for the public interest and the preservation of our political unity.

Arguments for Divorcement

The main arguments advanced against newspaper ownership of radio stations are (1) that it is not wise public policy to permit a single agency to control two channels of public information; (2) that by permitting a newspaper to own a radio station, whose free speech policies are defined by law, newspapers or radio or both may become involved adversely in some unforeseen interpretation of the freedom-of-the-press guarantee in the Bill of Rights, and (3) that to allow newspaper operation of radio stations sets up unfair competition against other stations having no such affiliation.

It also has been suggested by not a few that newspaper stations have not correctly or fairly interpreted present governmental trends and, therefore, should be deprived of station ownership. If this is to be advanced seriously, the corollary must be that other stations have given undue support to a political program as such, and that argument would therefore wash out.

As a matter of fact, most radio stations have no editorial policy and

should have none. The function of radio is to present both sides fairly, though in practice it probably is true that the Federal administration in power "gets the breaks." This was true under a Republican administration; it is true of the present administration. The reasons are self-evident.

This, in the broad public interest, is the strongest single reason that can be advanced against any policy that would attempt to regiment opinion or free discussion. The effort to take newspapers out of radio would have such a result, even if not so intended. In other words, the proposed corrective indubitably would help bring about the condition it is supposed to overcome.

If the present Communications Commission can take effective steps to make broadcasters independent of all political considerations, it will have accomplished something for which it will deserve enduring gratitude. This is not to deny that radio has an especial obligation to assist in disseminating governmental information, if it is in fact essential information and not propaganda. This is an obligation which has been recognized by service rendered in the past and present.

The distinction between newspaper operation and radio operation is not always clear to those unfamiliar with both. A newspaper prints the news and through editorial or other comment seeks to explain or interpret it. A radio station, on the other hand, if it presents news, is presumed to do so as fairly as a newspaper, but—and here is the big point—the Communications Act provides that where one candidate for public office has an opportunity to be heard, his legally qualified opponents are entitled to like use of station facilities under the same circumstances. This is true even though one of the candidates is a Communist. If there is a deficiency in providing opportunity for free discussion, the cause seems to lie in the law rather than with any group of radio stations. If there is such a deficiency, it applies to all stations rather than to any group. In view of their experience in presenting both sides of public questions, it is probable that newspaper stations, on the whole, have done a better job in that direction than have non-newspaper stations.

Newspaper stations, as a group, have not used the air to advance the particular political ideas or policies of the respective papers. Certainly, we have had enough experience to suggest that the proposed policy inevitably would restrict discussion or

make it one-sided, rather than to enlarge it and make it full, free, and fair.

Freedom of the press, to the editor, means that he may say what his judgment dictates, whether it is popular or not. Free speech on the air, however, has a different meaning. It presupposes presentation fully and fairly of both sides of a question. An editor may print complete and objective news reports, yet he has the right to discuss them as he sees fit. A radio station, on the other hand, should not give editorial interpretation, and owes the duty to the public to give both sides of a question. Indeed, it is not primarily a purveyor of news. It is and should be much more concerned with presenting both sides of every public question, social or political.

The discussion here has not been approached in any partisan spirit. However, the assertion that free speech has been throttled because stations owned by newspapers unfriendly to the present administration have been unfair to the New Deal must be answered. The record of newspaper ownership of radio stations strongly suggests there can be no substantial basis for this charge. A check of newspaper-owned stations in fact disclosed this probable preponderance of Democratic newspapers owning radio stations:

Radio Stations owned or controlled by, or affiliated with newspapers—193
Newspapers holding ownership or control, or affiliated with radio stations—256

Many of these have no direct control over the "affiliate" station. The political status of these newspapers is:

Democratic	39
Independent Democratic	51
Republican	29
Independent Republican	27
Independent	98
Non-partisan	7
Agricultural	4
Labor	1
	256

Assuming for the moment that some newspaper stations have erred either in throttling free speech or in engaging in practices which a partisan might say were unfriendly to the New Deal—an assumption which I am not willing to make—it still would be preferable, in view of the broad contributions which newspaper stations have made to the progress and development of radio service, to correct that particular condition by legislation or regulation rather than to penalize all under the mistaken assumption that the way to cure a malady is to kill the patient. It seems to me that reasonable men,

truly interested in improvement rather than punishment, will so agree.

In spite of the mistaken belief in some quarters that newspaper-owned stations have discriminated against instead of actually and freely allowing the exercise of free speech, and in spite of the criticism of newspapers as a whole, the best interests of the country over the long haul will be served by allowing an agency which on the whole understands what free speech and free discussion are to develop orderly and lawful discussion. Responsible free speech, rather than license, is needed. Irresponsibility will not contribute to the social improvement desired by those who would remove newspapers from the operation and control of radio stations.

The Free Speech Tradition

The experience of newspapers is a better guarantee of free speech and fair discussion over the radio than we would have if radio were operated entirely by agencies other than newspapers. Free speech, in spite of much lip service to it, is difficult indeed to achieve. Newspapers, with their tradition of a free press, are better able to provide it than a church group or even an educational group or any other special interest of which many avowedly are using radio to further their particular purposes. If newspaper policies which have been time-tested are not yet perfect, any flaws which show themselves in radio operation should be corrected by allowing those newspapers which wish to assume the risk to remain in radio.

Beyond all this, the day probably isn't far distant when additional channels will be available for an even wider use of radio than now exists. That will furnish further opportunity for free speech without destroying the newspaper contribution to radio—a contribution which, indeed, goes much farther than station operation. Newspapers have popularized radio as they never have aided any other invention.

If isolated newspaper-owned stations have been guilty of error, it will serve no good purpose to perpetrate another mistake in policy or judgment by withholding from all the possibility of radio ownership. To take newspapers already in radio from the field would destroy the tradition, experience, and leadership which newspapers have contributed to advancement of the art. It would penalize, in many cases, newspapers which are alert, progressive and community-minded and, therefore, can be relied upon forever to hold sacred free speech and free discussion not only in their own columns but in keeping with the fundamental precepts of radio.

THE WISCONSIN POLITICAL FORUM

By HAROLD A. ENGEL

Mr. Engel is former Executive Secretary of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters and now Promotion Manager of WHA, the Wisconsin State Broadcasting Station.

The recent past and surely the changing present of American politics are so closely bound to radio that, as Stuart Chase says, "In the future no candidate can hope to be elected without it."

The 1936 national campaign, with the attendant scramble for air advantages and "effective" presentations, substantiated that prediction. However, theoretical potentialities of the radio waned when shaped by the practical limitations of our present American radio set-up. Charges of "censorship," "discrimination," "pressure," "suppression of free speech," and others equally undemocratic, have been frequent.

David Lawrence, in commenting on the refusal of two radio chains in January 1936 to sell time for dramatized political programs, said, "It seems that the radio is available for the sale of laxatives, but not to sell ideas that relate to the very foundations of American government" (*New York Evening Sun*). Many observers for varied reasons are inclined to agree.

Under a system in which licensees of broadcasting stations are held responsible for utterances put on the air over their facilities, and are at the same time striving to show a profit financially, it is not difficult to see why conflicts, or at least differences in opinion, are prevalent. The station must walk the narrow path, and look always to the Federal Communications Commission's interpretation of service in "the public interest, convenience, and necessity" for a renewal of its license.

Dilemma of Political Broadcasting

During political campaigns, when tensions run high and emotion, rather than reason, may be appealed to, broadcasters face a trying problem. The Federal Radio Act of 1927 (Section 18) says:

> If any licensee shall permit any person who is a legally qualified candidate for any public office to use a broadcasting station he shall afford equal opportunities to all other such candidates for that office in the use of such broadcasting station, and this Commission shall make rules and regulations to carry this provision into effect. Provided that such licensee shall have no power of censorship over the material broadcast under the provisions of this section. No obligation is hereby imposed upon any licensee to

allow the use of its station by any such candidate.

Politics—to broadcast or not to broadcast—that is the question. Safety and disregard for listener-interest say No. Influential politicians and the station's desire for added revenue say Yes. Each station must decide for itself. Many chose the latter course and in substituting "editorial selection" for censorship have attempted to keep clear of uncomfortable situations. As was inevitable, there would be dissatisfaction.

In Wisconsin, the state which fostered such "radical" ideas as workmen's compensation, social security, civil service, railroad rate control, university extension, and the income tax, a political broadcasting plan is in use which has, through three state campaigns, met the approval of politicians and listeners alike. The idea is fundamentally sound and socially right.

The State of Wisconsin operates its own broadcasting stations. These sell no time and are free to operate with the interests of the listener, rather than a sponsor, as the primary concern. This removes the profit consideration and so clears the way for a comprehensive program of political education.

In 1932, before the election campaign got under way, the University of Wisconsin Radio Advisory Committee considered plans for a program of political education. Despite warnings that it was "dangerous" to talk politics over the radio, and especially so over the state radio, the experiment went forward.

Terms of Agreement

At a meeting held at the Secretary of State's office in the capitol on October 4, 1932, representatives of the state-owned Stations WHA and WLBL and the various political candidates discussed the idea. They heartily endorsed the use of the state stations for a program of political education and agreed to the terms outlined here:

1. The authorities in charge of Stations WHA and WLBL agreed to place these two stations at the disposal of the political groups and candidates for a total of two half-hour periods each Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday for the four weeks from October 10 to November 4, 1932.

2. The political representatives agreed to an equitable division of time, the schedule being determined by the drawing of lots.

3. It was mutually agreed that representatives designated by each party or group should have complete charge of the programs assigned to that group. They would select the speakers and apportion the time. The stations would, before each of these

programs, make a brief announcement of the arrangement under which the broadcasts were given.

4. It was agreed that these programs should be limited to a discussion of state or national issues. Wherever possible, candidates themselves should speak, as one of the purposes of the programs was to give citizens an opportunity to hear the candidates for whom they were asked to vote. (Candidates for local or district offices might be invited to discuss party issues but the state radio stations should not be used in local or district campaigns.)

5. It was understood that station officials would not undertake to censor in any way the material presented. (It was taken for granted that all speakers were desirous of avoiding charges that might be regarded as violations of the law of libel.)

6. These arrangements were considered experimental in nature and should not necessarily be regarded as a precedent for the future.

7. It was further mutually agreed that each speaker would supply the radio station director with five copies of his talk at the time of his broadcast. In the case of persons speaking extemporaneously without manuscript, it was agreed that such person or party would bear the cost of a stenographic report and transcription of five copies of the talk. This was in no way an attempt to exercise censorship, since copies of speeches were not required in advance. The purpose of this plan was to enable each party and speaker to keep informed of the issues and principles discussed by other speakers, and to make available copies of talks for listeners who requested them.

Aid to Intelligent Voting

Representatives of the four parties which had qualified for places on the ballot—Democratic, Prohibition, Republican, and Socialist—as well as Independent Socialist-Labor and Independent Communist candidates, signed the agreement after they had, by agreement, divided the available time.

So successful was the 1932 experiment that it was continued on virtually the same basis in the 1934 and 1936 campaigns.

The Wisconsin Political Forum has been in the public interest. Only when voters are acquainted with all sides of current political issues can they ballot intelligently. At present, many voters get only one point of view; they read only one newspaper; and they attend, when they go at all, the meetings of only one political party. But, if each party or group is allowed an equal opportunity to present its case, voters can gain a much more adequate understanding

of the issues and can cast a much more intelligent ballot.

Another consideration touches the use of money in political campaigns. The state sets limits to the amounts that can properly be spent. The charge is often made that parties without large financial resources are handicapped because they cannot get their arguments before the voters.

The idea has spread to the nonpartisan spring elections, as well as the primary and regular fall elections. Supreme Court candidates in 1935 and 1937 were granted time. Candidates for the office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction also received time before the 1937 spring election.

The radio, with its ability to reach instantly millions of people thousands of miles apart, has made it physically possible to bring the nation into the status of the democratic town meeting where every voter could hear the speaker's voice. We wonder if we are thinking enough of the social, educational, and governmental potentialities of broadcasting.

The principle of the Political Forum is fundamentally right; but its adoption can never become general under the present radio system. As long as time is salable, as are desirable hours, such a plan will not voluntarily evolve. As long as time on the air must be purchased, minority voices will not be heard. Free speech may exist on the radio; but, if so, only for those who can afford to pay for it.

MOTION PICTURE CONFERENCE IN NEW YORK

By NIGEL DENNIS

A number of topics of interest to students of communications and opinion management were discussed at the Fourteenth Annual Conference of the National Board of Review of Motion Pictures, held at the Hotel Pennsylvania, New York City, January 20-22. Papers and discussions mentioned in the following summary of the proceedings are to be published in the National Board of Review Magazine. *Mr. Dennis is a member of the staff of the National Board of Review.*

The Conference at all times expressed the growing influence of the motion pictures upon public opinion throughout the world. This influence was first demonstrated by William P. Montague, Jr., Assignment Editor of *Paramount News,* when he traced the remarkable development of the news film in the last twenty years, stating that what was once a "chaser"

for the feature picture is now "an accepted world-wide system for the exchange of ideas."

This view of the motion picture as a mass effective was also noted by Gilbert Seldes, who held that "it would somehow seem to me wrong to think of a moving picture which did not basically want to communicate what it had to say to the greatest possible number." Hence he believed that the minority audience of critics and esthetes should demand no rights in regard to pictures and programs, and he emphasized that it was the majority judgment of the public which, in the long run, carried the main weight in deciding the value of a picture. Mark van Doren, Professor of English at Columbia University, stated that "the whole duty of a movie . . . is to entertain its audience," although he explained that the word "entertain" is broader than is generally realized.

Other speakers referred to the strong link between the motion picture and education: Mr. Bamberger, Promotion Manager of RKO, spoke on the number of schools now employing cinematic instruction; Herbert S. Walsh, Technical Supervisor, Objective Teaching Materials and Techniques (a WPA project sponsored by the New York City Board of Education), discussed his experiences as a co-worker in the making of educational films and the need for making lower-priced technical equipment available to the schools. Paul Rotha, a prominent producer of documentary films in England, stated his belief that from now on "the fact film is going to be tied up very closely with education," and stressed the growing public interest in this aspect of the films. A previous member of the National Board of Review of Motion Pictures, Paul Moss, New York City Commissioner of Licenses, representing Mayor La Guardia, spoke of the necessity of the licensor's making a study of public opinion when passing upon pictures, and praised the Mayor's liberal attitude in the question of licensing.

Other subjects and speakers were: "Movies and Popular Criticism," by Alistair Cooke, author of *Footnotes to the Film* and NBC film critic; "The Importance of the Motion Picture as a Scientific Interest," by Sydney K. Wolfe, President of the Society of Motion Picture Engineers; "The Importance of the Motion Picture as a Publication Interest," by Maurice Kann, Editor-in-Chief of *Box Office;* "A Mid-West Critic Looks at the Films," by Ward Marsh, *Cleveland Plain Dealer* film critic; and "The Film as Document and News," by Edgar Anstey, Production Manager for the March of Time in Great Britain. A talk on the development of color in the films was made by Robert Edmond Jones.

PROFESSIONAL SERVICES

Edited by HARWOOD L. CHILDS

This department covers the activities of specialists in the art of opinion-management such as advertisers, public relations counsel, and fund-raisers. Special attention is given to reports and studies of their techniques, and to their own exposition of public opinion trends and problems.

BUSINESS BACKS NEW YORK WORLD FAIR TO MEET THE NEW DEAL PROPAGANDA

By BERNARD LICHTENBERG

Mr. Lichtenberg is President of the Institute of Public Relations, Incorporated, and is public relations counsellor for certain of the World's Fair exhibitors.

When the New York World's Fair of 1939 was first plotted few persons realized that a trend in our national life would carry this exposition far beyond the scope of anything like it attempted before. It is true, of course, that those who first dreamed of this fair envisioned something done on a grand scale; but it would not have been achieved had not the New York World's Fair offered an ideal opportunity for business to seek a way out of the dire straits into which it has been precipitated in the last few years. Other fairs have been chiefly concerned with selling products; this one will be chiefly concerned with selling ideas.

When plans for the New York fair were first laid, most people had the Chicago Century of Progress in their minds, and to industry, the backbone of any fair, the New York exposition was viewed in terms of exhibits and budgets akin to those of the Century of Progress.

Soon it became apparent, however, that this New York fair would offer a great and timely opportunity for business men to deal in the commodity of good will. Business and industry, therefore, were sold the idea that beginning April 30, 1939, an opportunity would present itself to give the public a chance to see and hear what an indispensable contribution industry is making to social and economic existence.

And because of this, and because of the character of what is to be enacted at Flushing Meadow, the New York World's Fair of 1939 is going to be the greatest single public

relations program in industrial history.

It may be assumed that World's Fair exhibitors, who will spend more than a hundred million dollars to tell their story, will take a lesson from modern-day propaganda achievements. Just as the government is making use of such means as Pare Lorenz's *The River* on the screen, and the Living Newspaper on the New York stage to get across a message in an entertaining way, so exhibitors at the New York Fair may be counted upon to stress the entertainment angle in presenting their story.

Grover A. Whalen, president of the Fair, struck the keynote of this opportunity to mould public opinion through the Fair when he said in a recent radio address:

"It is evident that the large corporations know that when they exhibit at a Fair they are vividly depicting the vital rôle played by them in the nation's life. They realize that we have gathered the genius and imagination of our century to build in New York City a miniature of world civilization; and they know that this affords the opportunity to portray their part in this civilization. Their recognition of this is evidenced by the fact that our ground space is already over-subscribed."

"These large corporations also know," he continued, "that during these days of economic trials, the weight of public opinion is all-important—that the consuming public is becoming more and more educated to values. Only those corporations which have heeded this fundamental business fact have weathered the fluctuations of the business cycle and emerged safe and sound. That is why, today, we find in most successful firms a special department devoted to public relations."

And good will is the main thing that exhibitors at the New York World's Fair stand to win. Therefore, the effort that already is under way: first, by the World's Fair itself in its determination to bring fifty million visitors to Flushing Meadow in the 189 days beginning April 30, 1939; and second, by individual exhibitors who are determined to attract the attention and interest of as large a percentage as possible of these fifty millions.

In discussing the manner in which the World's Fair itself is going about its publicity and promotion program, one of the officials of the Fair analyzes the difference in perspective between this and recent American expositions as follows:

"Were the New York World's Fair to be nothing but a huge and strident collection of idle amusements, the entire subject might be exploited by the methods that have been used to promote recent fairs and expositions. They are only a

magnification and a slight improvement of the sideshow ballyhoo long employed by county fairs. The exploitation of nudists, fan dancers, and bathing beauties is not difficult to understand. For a time it is effective, but it certainly is a confession of weakness. . . .

"It was therefore logical that the first major item in the Fair's vast schedule of promotion should have been a long-planned and carefully considered release—one which reached the far corners of the world—dealing completely with the thematic content of the Fair and introducing for the first time the exposition's basic idea: 'Building the World of Tomorrow.' It is not that the exposition is offering to the world a new panacea. The attraction of an idea which has as its objective a feasible and logical plan for harmony and peace was a renewing and a compelling cause for hope. It is this theme which is constantly kept before the world public through every available vehicle of communication."

Publicity Channels

The channels through which the Fair itself hopes to mould public opinion are: Publicity, Promotion, Radio, Speakers, and Research. For each of these channels an organization has been built.

The Publicity Department is made up of seventeen persons who work in the Fair's administration building in a setting like that of a busy newspaper city room. Heading the department is Perley Boone, a newspaperman of long experience. From his office adjacent to the large room in which his associates grind out all sorts of news and feature stories, Mr. Boone plots the course of his publicity campaign, mindful that one of his greatest problems is to do the job thoroughly but not to overdo it.

Directly under Mr. Boone is an assistant director of press who helps to coordinate various activities of the department. Then there are three writers of special stories and releases, who create the regular run of news matter for papers everywhere.

As editor of publication is a former *New York Times* man who is in charge of all publications released by the press department.

The service element of Mr. Boone's staff comprises two secretaries, a receptionist, a man to clip newspaper stories, a teletypist, and three photographers.

All these persons combine in the effort of the Fair to secure publicity on a worldwide scale. Translations of important releases are supplied to leading newspapers all over the world, and each day thousands of words of copy and select photographs

go from the press department to newspapers, picture services, and syndicates both at home and abroad.

Illustrative of the coverage obtained on important stories is the fact that the release on the now famous Trylon and Perisphere, the theme building of the Fair, was used by almost three-fourths of the daily newspapers in the United States.

Promotion Department

Coordinated with the Publicity Department—for often it is difficult to differentiate between activities of the two divisions—is the Department of Promotion, directed by Robert J. Flood.

Not all fairs open on time or are complete when they do open. Some fairs are not fully completed even when they close. Recent expositions at Philadelphia, Chicago, Paris, and Dallas, for instance, have seen construction under way after the opening date. It seems that this will not be the case in New York. At this writing construction is a month ahead of schedule, and Mr. Flood and his fifteen associates are working overtime in an effort to keep public interest and expectation in tune with construction progress.

Promotional possibilities are being attacked on all fronts. Striking posters have been originated and placed at strategic spots all over the country. Pursuant to conferences with executives in the field of transportation, tentative arrangements have been made to have the Fair described in booklets published by railroads, steamship companies, and bus lines.

Contact is maintained between the Promotion Department and all exhibitors in an effort to bring about as little duplication of effort as possible.

Tie-in has been made with schools. The Promotion Department published a "Children's Book" on the Fair, which was used, for the first time, as a text in one of the experimental classes at Lincoln School, a part of Teachers' College, Columbia University, in the summer of 1937.

A poster contest has been launched for school children throughout the nation. The offering of trips to the Fair as prizes has stimulated further interest in this contest.

The Promotion Department is currently engaged on its most ambitious and elaborate project. Staff members of the department are working furiously to have ready by April 30 of this year, a huge pageant which will demonstrate to the world the type of fair it may expect to see in 1939.

As an aid in moulding public opinion the Fair has established a special department devoted to radio. Heading this section is Dr. John S.

Young, formerly with the National Broadcasting Company and for five successive years winner of the Academy Award for outstanding service as a radio announcer. Despite the fact that his staff has not yet been fully organized, Dr. Young has arranged for a great many radio addresses on the subject of the Fair. During the Fair period radio will play an even greater part, as many programs will emanate directly from the exposition grounds.

Many clubs, societies, and similar organizations have written the Exposition asking if some one of its representatives could not address them at one of their meetings. To meet such requests and to canvass the entire field, the Fair opened a Speakers' Bureau. This bureau already has covered many types of organizations—from a church meeting in Flushing to a meeting of the trustees of a famous deaf and dumb institute.

Research and Library

There is a small department in the Fair's set-up which has had its helpful thumb in almost every public relations pie. This is the Department of Research and Library which operates under the direction of Dr. Frank Monaghan, a member of the faculty at Yale University. Not only does this department carry out the functions implied by its name but it has also been active in every type of publicizing already described. It is in this department that the materials which go into the speeches are gathered—and in many cases it is here that the actual speeches are written.

A forty-eight-page booklet published under the imprint of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* was prepared by the members of the Research and Library staff. This booklet has received wide distribution.

A novel project to mould public opinion was achieved by the Director of Research and Library when he planned a full course of lectures on the Fair, to start in September, at Hunter College in New York City. From this effort the Fair hopes to secure the prestige of higher education. This course is to be used primarily as a publicity venture for attracting World's Fair interest among New Yorkers, but syllabi and discussions of the course will be sent elsewhere.

In addition to all this, the Department of Research and Library acts as the information center of the Fair; it receives all calls from those outsiders who wish to be informed on the Exposition's activities.

It is curious that with all the planning for publicity and promotion the most effective results frequently come in the nature of an accident. A good example of this came recently when several persons objected to the

line on New York State automobile license plates for 1938 which reads "New York World's Fair 1939." Amusing criticism gave the Fair much valuable publicity and did little or no harm. No one foresaw these complaints and yet they proved to be the stimuli for much talk about the Fair.

So much for the efforts of the Fair itself to make its turnstiles click fifty million times in one hundred and eighty-five days. This is Mr. Whalen's promise to exhibitors who have leased ground space at a minimum of 20 cents a square foot and at $14 a square foot for "covered" space in World's Fair buildings.

Private Exhibitors

But what happens to visitors after they enter the Fair grounds is something entirely different, and that is the problem of the hundreds of industries, corporations, businesses, associations, leagues, and concessionnaires who are paying good money for the chance to sell a product or an idea to the public.

Because of the miles and miles of streets in the Fair and of the many more miles of walks and by-paths down which visitors must go to see individual exhibitions, nobody will see everything the Fair has to offer.

Competition for public attention will be great. Every large exhibitor at the Fair—governments as well as private agencies—is laying plans for an extensive campaign to make millions of persons want to see that particular exhibition.

These campaigns for public attention will combine paid advertising, promotion, and publicity. Most exhibitors are reluctant to disclose their plans for obvious reasons. So great is the competition for building and exhibit designs, as a matter of fact, that architects and designers are tight-mouthed when mention is made of plans, drawings, or models for any client.

Many of the larger exhibitors have employed publicizing agencies to carry out World's Fair campaigns for them. Still others have employed public relations counsellors to study every phase of building and exhibits to the end that their clients may present a clear-cut, good-will message. They have studied every part of their exhibitions to be sure that what may appeal to one group will not at the same time antagonize another group. In more than one case exhibitors have changed their plans because of this advice.

Many exhibitors who for one reason or another have not employed outside talent in their campaign for popular attention at the Fair have added publicity men to their own

organizations or have delegated to someone already employed the problem of advertising their exhibits to the world at large.

Luxury for the Press

Many exhibitors will provide in their buildings or at their exhibits comfortable and inviting quarters for the working press: the men and women who are on the payrolls of papers, magazines, radio companies, motion picture outfits, and the like. In these press quarters employees of the exhibitors will have stories and pictures galore for the help of the reporter or photographer who is too busy or too disinclined to dig up the story himself. In a sense this Fair will be a newspaperman's holiday, for there will be entertainment and refreshments galore.

So, the Fair itself has publicity and promotion agencies to bring the people to Flushing Meadow; the exhibitors have or will have similar agencies to vie for the limited attention of the people who pay for admission to the Fair.

But those are not all the factors which will play a part in making the people World's Fair conscious. All of the newspapers and magazines and press associations and radio companies and newsreels and syndicates and news-picture agencies are doing a World's Fair job on their own hook.

Reporters from the metropolitan press and the press associations have their regular beat to Flushing. Picture magazines already have shown their eagerness to depict the unusual and the striking in this great $150,000,000 fair. Broadcasting companies now are working on future sustaining and commercial programs with a World's Fair motif. Mr. Whalen and the ambassadors of foreign lands and the governors of states and the captains of industry appear in the news reels and on the picture pages as the Fair develops.

It is a great parade of news, publicity, propaganda! And what will be the result of it?

The New York World's Fair of 1939 will be the medium through which industry—large business and small—is determined to tell its story and to present its case to the public. If that story is told simply, clearly, entertainingly, and in good humor, industry will have done more to justify itself as a factor in this civilization than it ever has done before. And this justification can result in a tremendous wave of good will. That is why the New York Fair seems destined to become the greatest single public relations program in all history.

SHOULD BUSINESS DECENTRALIZE ITS COUNTER-PROPAGANDA?

By BURTON BIGELOW

Mr. Bigelow was head of the literature-distribution division of the Republican National Committee in 1936.

The present administration in Washington seems committed to a persistent program of anti-business propaganda. This policy was foreshadowed as far back as August 1932, when the candidate said:

> We find two-thirds of American industry concentrated in a few hundred corporations, and actually managed by not more than five thousand men.

The more recent attacks by members of the official family, based upon the Sixty Families theme, was but a new arrangement of the original melody.

Whether this campaign marks a sincere effort at social reform, as New Dealers aver, or is a tool of political opportunism in the hands of a demagog, as business contends, is immaterial. Its effect upon business is the same—and the same sort of effort is required to neutralize and offset it.

In attempting its own defense, business starts under numerous handicaps; *First,* business has no united voice. Certainly, it is not the Liberty League, or the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, or the National Association of Manufacturers.

Second, under any circumstances, business is poorly integrated, and lacks a well-defined common purpose. When any kind of cooperation is involved, business has often proved itself unresponsive even to its own best interests. Furthermore, in the case of defensive propaganda, it has not even established a mechanism by means of which it can study the problem. Certainly, it has not machinery by which it can agree upon objectives, or by means of which it may plan, finance, or execute any propaganda program.

Third, a businessman, individually, is stirred to action only by the very immediate threat of an overwhelming dollar loss in his own immediate affairs. A broad threat to business in general, or even to his own industry, is seldom enough to arouse him. That happens only when the raven perches on his own threshold. Lacking trustworthy means to measure the extent of the present social distrust of businessmen and business methods; lacking the political sagacity to foresee the speed with which unfavorable public opinion sometimes crystallizes, business leaders are naturally slow to translate the present minus trend into the prospect

of any direct personal dollars-and-cents loss. Until the threat of dollar loss becomes imminent, no effective general response on the part of businessmen will be made toward the defense of business as an institution.

Fourth, Leaders in business, with a few exceptions, are unskilled in the more subtle aspects of symbol management. Verbal bludgeoning—vitriolic charge and vituperative denial—are almost the only tools they know how to use, and these can hardly be called the instruments of finesse.

Fifth, business has not yet come to understand that words alone, passed out in long mimeographed releases, are not the real substance of effective counter-propaganda. Back of the words must be social-minded accomplishment—worth talking about.

Sixth, the individual leaders in business are not yet ready humbly to shoulder part of the burden in their own localities and thus prove their technique by showing that they can propagandize a few hundred people successfully. They are still seeking the limelight of the national radio hookup, with a background of white ties and swallowtails. When business leaders cease thinking of defensive business propaganda as a nationwide opportunity to exhibit a well-starched shirt, and begin to think of it as a serious local responsibility for insuring the survival of private enterprise, then they will begin to do an effective job of counter-propaganda.

One Vote at a Time

When much younger than he is today, the author was called to party headquarters and asked if he wished to aid in a local political campaign. Certainly he did. He had visions of some dramatic and historic speech which would change the course of the city-wide election—a sort of local Cross of Gold speech, with himself in the rôle of Bryan.

Down at headquarters, he inquired: "Where do I speak?" "Speak?" inquired the hard-boiled cynic behind the desk. "You just go back to Summit Avenue and canvass both sides of your block and give me a report on how things stand. Talk to 'em one at a time. That's the kind of speeches that count, my boy!" Disillusioned with politics, this youngster went out, sulked a whole day, and then went to work as instructed. The party won that precinct, but it wasn't by any Cross of Gold speech—it was won one vote at a time by ringing doorbells.

Businessmen who want to help win the counter-propaganda battle are for the most part in the frame of mind of the callow youth who wanted to do something in politics. They wish to make a Cross of Gold speech that will hit the headlines and make them No. 1 men at home.

You doubt that? Then, sit in that madhouse which is a great party's national headquarters during a campaign. Observe the endless parade of businessmen who gladly give advice and offer to make speeches over $50,000 radio hookups. Meekly, even diplomatically, suggest to them to go back home and help the party win in their ward, or district, or city—and nine of ten will leave headquarters outraged.

In a gathering of businessmen in a small community the other day, the subject of what business ought to do defensively came up for discussion. This author asked: "What have any one of you done right here at home about it?" They were amazed at the question. What could they do? Answer: Cease waiting for the nationwide white-tied opportunity!

Elections are won in the precincts. So are propaganda battles. The place for the businessman to begin effective counter-propaganda is right in his own community. In his Parent-Teacher Association meetings, for example. The businessman who waits for a national audience will never get it. But any businessman whose reputation makes him a worthy propaganda mouthpiece can get on the program of his P.T.A. for fifteen minutes almost any day. If twenty thousand business men follow such a home-propaganda program intelligently for the next year, that job which now seems so enormous and so impossible not only will become *possible*, but its first phase—the arousing of interested elements to some form of action—will have been accomplished.

How to go about it? The *modus operandi* is simple common sense.

First, Mr. Businessman must find out what unsavory things the neighbors, the community, are thinking about businessmen. Not by asking his peers, but by asking his preachers, his children's teachers, his aldermen and councilmen, his social workers, his mission speakers. By talking to his workers and their wives and their children.

Once he knows his problem, the task is simple; clumsy as he may be in the manipulation of symbols, crude as his counter-blasts may be, one man can handle that part of the job which is his legitimate one-man quota.

Perhaps some central headquarters can help him. It is doubtful. The bad opinion in which business is held is local opinion. In the same town, it changes from one factory district to the next. It needs diagnosing before treating—and then it needs a treatment to fit the diagnosis. And no Chamber of Commerce of the United States, or National Association of Manufacturers knows half as well how to do that local job as the fellow who lives there and whose business

supplies the payrolls in that community.

Observe how well a localized program of self-starting, decentralized counter-propaganda solves at least the initial difficulty in a very large problem. It eliminates the need for waiting for any large national body to find the facts, agree upon a program, and get under way. It substitutes prompt action on the firing line for months, even years, of delay. It localizes both diagnosis and remedy.

It has another important strategic advantage. Whereas the Administration has demonstrated considerable adroitness in promptly discrediting the heretofore self-appointed spokesmen for business, such as the Liberty League, U.S. Chamber of Commerce, and the National Association of Manufacturers, it would be extremely difficult to discredit twenty thousand volunteers in as many districts.

Further, it will train twenty thousand leaders in the hard realities of public opinion management and will provide the future lieutenants, some future captains, and even a few majors for a permanent army of business counter-propagandists.

Finally, it will serve to awaken business leaders to the steps which they must take internally to make their business practices conform to the inevitable requirements of this socially-minded era. Every now and then a king should travel incognito through his kingdom. Getting out on the firing line—to find out what the public thinks, and then to reshape their thinking—will give business leaders a new and more realistic concept of their present job.

SCHOOL FOR FEDERAL PUBLICITY MEN AT AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

By ARCH A. MERCEY

Mr. Mercey is Assistant Director of Information of the Farm Security Administration, Department of Agriculture.

With inauguration of a two-year course in public relations this fall, American University at Washington, D.C., will have realized its hope to establish, in its School of Public Affairs, a national center for the study of public relations in a democracy.

The School of Public Affairs has found an unexcelled opporunity for obtaining expert instructional aid from Federal agencies.[1] Moreover, it

[1] For list of Federal experts teaching see 1938 winter-spring term announcement "The School of Public Affairs of American University—A Professional School for Government Employees"

has adapted its general public administration courses to employees now in the public service under the general title of "in-service" training. The growing importance of public relations has led the University to introduce a comprehensive series of courses which both continue and greatly expand the present instructional activity in that field.

All major government agencies employ people to distribute helpful public information. Many agencies have special photographic experts, and several have personnel engaged in motion picture production and distribution. More than fifty different channels of public information are used. The effort on the part of American University is to improve that which is being done by the government to report to the people. New activities serving millions of citizens have required extension and improvement in reporting and information service.

After two and a half years of study, experimentation, and practice a two-year series embracing the following broad divisions will begin in September:

> Technical proficiency in various tasks;
>
> Management—including planning and initiation activities;
>
> Philosophical bases for the use of public relations;
>
> Sharing progress in public relations;
>
> Efforts toward achieving a better understanding of public relations problems by administrative personnel.

The impetus given the use of informational and opinion-forming techniques by government and business has led the University to give students (chiefly employed government workers) practical instruction, workshop for research and experimentation, forums for discussion, and the benefit of expert advice.

The new two-year battery of courses is designed to explore the practical techniques and to carry the student through to a pragmatic as well as philosophical understanding and evaluation of the rôle of public relations and information activities in a democracy.

Underlying the whole structure of public relations study will be a series of courses devoted to the study of techniques. *Editorial Practice* will include basic principles of editing as well as manuscript revision and directions for marking for printer.

A course in *Proofreading* will include the necessary fundamentals of proofreading, indexing, and related tasks. The first-year course in *Advanced Government Writing Practice* will include the preparation of news releases, clipsheets, newspaper features, popular articles, and syndicate articles. The second-year course in *Advanced Government Writing Practice* will include the more diffi-

cult handling of the interpretation of scientific and statistical data, preparation of speeches, annual reports, yearbooks, etc.

Radio Script Writing will include the preparation of speeches, spot announcements, mail offers, and dramatizations. *Radio Production* will advance general radio technical instruction through study and improvement of microphone technique, the use of sound effects, a study of accurate timing, transcription techniques, and direction of dramatic productions.

The advance which the government has made in the production of documentary films has led the University to include in its basic technical course a study of documentary films, scenario preparation, and production techniques.

Improved layout and design in publications both within and without the government have influenced those interested in the improvement of Federal techniques to give special attention to design and typography. In *Layout and Design* students will receive instruction in format design, type styles, use of illustration, ink and paper uses and press work.

Pictorial Practices is not a concession to the picture-magazine craze but recognition of the increased importance of pictorial usage. This course will include the use of interesting graphs, charts, maps, documentary still photos, lantern slides, slide-films, mats, posters, and pictorial publications.

A course in *Exhibits* will include planning, design, construction, placement, and distribution.

Periodical Editing (including news-letters) will include planning and scheduling, writing and rewriting, editing, titling, use of illustrations, cost of production, and distribution.

Government Information Distribution Problems will consider both what is being done and what should be done. This course, designed to be one of critical evaluation as well as pragmatic study, includes the "merchandising" of government publications, the use of mailing lists; news-release distribution problems; adaptations of different media; checking of effectiveness of media; use of advertisements, contests, special celebrations, correspondence, information booklets, demonstrations, and suggested modifications in present governmental distribution techniques.

Conference Planning and Management will include the preliminary work of organizing conferences, accompanying publicity work, hotel and registration arrangements, timing and scheduling, discussion techniques, and preparation use and distribution of reports.

The second broad division includes management problems and

includes a *Government Public Relations Survey Course* which is an evaluation of present media used to disseminate information.

A course in *Planning Government Information Services* will include preliminary organization of a service as well as problems of personnel, budgeting, staff relations, prospectus use and preparation, audience appeal, use of media and relationship to administration officials.

In the third division of the courses, tentatively classified as the "Philosophical Bases for Public Relations," is included a course called the *Principles of Public Relations* which will include a study of psychology of audiences, the philosophy and practice of the U.S. Government in relation to current public relations practices; public relations and democratic government; principles of public relations in quasi-governmental and non-governmental agencies, and in foreign governments; and the general relationship of public relations practice to operative administration.

The fourth broad division is devoted to "Sharing the Progress in Public Relations" and includes graduate seminar work in a public relations workshop. Research problems will be handled and experiments carried forward in current problems.

The final broad division is devoted to a "Better Understanding of Problems by Administrators" and will include conferences with administrative chiefs, exhibits of new devices and media, the distribution of findings and research reports and the exchange of helpful information, directions, bibliographies, and reprints.

Personnel

In September 1935, the School of Public Affairs with its "in-service" training courses began instructional work in public information techniques. William Dow Boutwell, editor-in-chief of the Office of Education, Department of the Interior, organized the first course in public relations survey and techniques, and has been the moving spirit in this department at American University.

Last May a group of public information chiefs and experts in governmental departments were invited by Dean Arthur S. Flemming to consult with American University and assist in working out additional courses. A series of conferences resulted in the development of a new type "assembly line" course of instruction in writing and publishing government documents, and the continuation and expansion of a public relations workshop.

The *Editorial Practice Course* was divided into five units with an expert in the particular field in charge of each unit. Mr. Boutwell spent

three sessions in background and planning of government publications. John R. Fleming, Assistant Director of Information, Department of Agriculture, devoted four sessions in an intensive writing period. The practical editing and proofreading occupied three sessions with Herbert Angel, Assistant Chief of Publications, the National Archives, in charge. Frank Mortimer, Chief, Layout Division, Government Printing Office, gave a three weeks' course in layout and design. Each of the students prepared a publication and carried it through its various stages on a literal assembly line with the final two sessions devoted to promotion and distribution with Arch A. Mercey, Assistant Director of Information, Farm Security Administration, in charge of the final phase of work.

During the current semester further steps were taken toward approaching the broad two-year period of study which Dean Flemming envisions. Mr. Boutwell is giving a course in government writing. Mr. Angel is giving a course in proofreading and indexing. William Phillips, formerly with Dr. Meiklejohn at the University of Wisconsin, and now Director of Publications, Rural Electrification Administration, is in charge of the public relations workshop. Two somewhat novel courses are being offered. One is *Documentary Films Today,* during the first half of the semester, and the second is *Documentary Still Photography.* The first course consists of a series of screenings and discussions of fact films with visiting "guest stars," experts in film techniques and production. Newsreels, screen journalism, documentary aspects of the story film, government films, foreign documentaries, and domestic propaganda, sales and industrial films are included in the course. Mr. Mercey is in charge of this course. New trends in contemporary photography with evaluation of pictorial work and field activity under supervision of nationally recognized experts in still photography, form part of the second half of the course. Roy E. Stryker, formerly of Columbia, is in charge.

Supplementing the formal courses is a series of lectures by experts in various fields of public relations activities. These experts will be representative of the principal media used in government and business. These lectures are open gratis to registered and former members of the public relations courses under the sponsorship of the School of Public Affairs.

BOOK REVIEWS

ARNETT, ALEX MATTHEWS, *Claude Kitchin and the Wilson War Policies*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1937. 341 pp. ($3.00)

This book by Professor Arnett has a peculiar appositeness at the present time. It is a story, among other things, of a pacifist who saw, as every pacifist has seen, his philosophy go to smash against the rocks of reality.

The Wilson campaign in 1916 was fought on the slogan: "He kept us out of war." No man may say this brought victory to the Democratic candidate. Probably the mistakes in California of the Republican nominee (Mr. Charles Evans Hughes) were contributory factors to his own defeat. But, in any event, Wilson won, and so did Kitchin, running in a small district in North Carolina. But Kitchin went Wilson one better. His catch-phrase was: "We kept him [Wilson] out of war." And this is the narrative of how he did *not* do it. For it was only a few months after the election of 1916 (from November until April) that America succumbed to the inevitable, and we entered the war.

The story of Claude Kitchin is the story of a typical American, with all the virtues and the vices characteristic of that genus. Never as bad as he was painted (and in the days of his importance, I was on the staff of a great newspaper—the *World*—which often saw him through black glasses), he certainly was not the final inheritor of all that is finest in our public life. He was a mixture of expediency and principle—as who is not? Washington wasn't, Lincoln wasn't, Wilson wasn't. These are the only exceptions I can supply. Perhaps a certain amount of what is euphemistically termed "a sense of the realistic" is a necessary ingredient in these days when reform is always a series of compromises.

Arnett's book is written with a definite preconception. Kitchin was a great man to the author, and he seeks to prove this thesis. I am left unconvinced. But fearing lest I may be suffering from a form of mental strabismus I solicited and obtained an opinion of Mr. Kitchin, as a man and a politician, from one who served long with him in the House, Mayor Fiorello La Guardia, the dynamic and far-darting mayor of New York. He writes this:

> My dear Herbert:
>
> In reply to your inquiry concerning Claude Kitchin, I would say that he was one of the most gentle souls I have ever met. He was a very able parliamentarian and an intelligent legislator. Of course, he belonged to the old partisan school and was a rigid Democrat, as well as a democrat by nature. In many instances, such as taxation, tariff and labor, he was most sectional in his viewpoint. His speech against the War which came from the bottom of his heart was one of the grandest appeals I have ever heard. He had us all wondering and many of us crying. I was very fond of him, and we were good friends, although I was a young member and served but a short time with him. . . .
>
> Sincerely yours,
>
> Fiorello

From that one would scarcely think La Guardia discovered greatness in his friend.

As any review of a biography should deal with the factual contents of the book, a method frequently honored more in the breach than in the observance, here follows an outline of his life:

> Kitchin, Claude, Congressman, born at Scotland Neck, N.C., March 24, 1869. Son of William H. (mem. 46th Congress) and Maria F. (Arrington) Kitchin, Brother of William Walter Kitchin. B.L., Wake Forest College 1888. Married Kate B. Mills of Wake Forest, N.C., November 13, 1888. Admitted to bar 1890 and practised in Scotland, N.C. Member 57th to 67th Congresses (1901-1923) from 2nd North Carolina District (Democrat) Majority Leader 64th and 65th Congress. Died June 1, 1923. His brother, William Walter Kitchin, was Governor of North Carolina from 1909 to 1913.

Scotland Neck, a Carolinian hamlet, became famous in Kitchin's day. The name got into the newspapers of America and of the world during the period of his leadership of the lower House. He used to paste the billboards of his district with quotations from the big metropolitan newspapers which opposed him. He was one of those who thrive on opposition. He found it politically helpful to pull the Crown of Martyrdom firmly on his head, declaring that he was a victim of the persecution of a "venal press" and then asked for sympathy. And he always got it. This is still a pretty good method. Even today those in high places like to show the rents in their garments made, they say, by the venomous daggers of a bought and bitter journalism.

The book shows evidence of a scholarly preparation and presentation, but it would seem as if the author had written in a narrow and provincial vein. He heroizes Kitchin. He is never defensive, although he is sometimes overexpository. He frequently writes of "tirades of a venal press," but he never shows where the venality appears.

Not once does the book mention the Ku Klux Klan, yet that sinister organization was a powerful factor in the region from which Mr. Kitchin came.

Professor Arnett makes an effort to show that Kitchin was a true disciple of *representative* government. He seeks to portray him as a leader instead of a follower of public opinion. But it is no violence to the truth to say that Kitchin, in common with all "statesmen" the world over, kept his ear close to the ground, listening for the sounds of popular sentiment.

Perhaps it is true that a leader is finally measured by his success, but while he is achieving that end—or failure—there are certain characteristics of leadership that can be recognized easily. Among them are an unselfish, unswerving devotion to a cause, combined with the faculty to instill such deep faith in followers that they would go down to death, convinced in so doing they were pursuing the only possible course.

Some of our public figures can best be defined in the words Theodore Roosevelt used to me when I was a correspondent with him during the Presidential campaign of 1912. As we proceeded West he appeared one day in a frock coat (Prince Alberts they used to be called), a black string tie, and a black, broad-brimmed felt hat. I commented on the change and he said, showing his teeth:

"My boy, there are certain parts of the country where you simply cannot be a statesman unless you wear a long coat, a black tie, and a sombrero." Kitchin answered that definition.

Kitchin was a one-speech man. No disrespect is intended here to the numerous efforts, many of them good, he made during his leadership of the House, but they were almost always extemporaneous and ephemeral. The address he made in the House on the night of April 5, 1917, when he fought against the War resolution, which had been passed with six dissenting votes in the Senate, was his magnum opus. It was the first time that he read from manuscript. The *New York World* said that he "made an impressive figure garbed in a dark suit, a high white vest, and black string tie. His delivery was excellent. His full round voice was a trifle husky." And the article commented that he had made the chief speech of the night. It was a good

speech. Kitchin voted against the resolution (the declaration of war against Germany). He was one of fifty. That was his great moment. Efforts were made to have him removed as Majority Leader but they failed, because even his enemies recognized the fact that Kitchin had, on this occasion, spoken from his heart and had discharged his duty as he saw it. And, later, he made good the words of his peroration when he said that if the nation, acting through Congress, committed itself to war, he would be found in complete support of every act calculated to win victory.

Our author begins his preface with the statement: "Wilson returned from Paris in 1919 a beaten man." That assertion is touched with hindsight. In 1919 the country had not evinced real opposition to the League of Nations, to which Wilson had passionately devoted himself. The political issue was fought out the following year. The League plan was defeated, to the great loss of the world and of America. There might have been a pleasanter outlook today had America entered the League, wholeheartedly desirous of trying the arbitrament of reason instead of force of arms.

And there is another picture Arnett doesn't paint. What would have happened if America had not gone to war? Do any of those who decry the Versailles Treaty actually believe that the Germans and the Central Powers would have made a peace that the world would have found acceptable? Or one under which America could have lived in happiness and security? It may be true, as Kitchin agreed, that there never was a good war or a bad peace, but the war he opposed was forced upon us. No man can read Newton Baker's book on *Why We Went to War* without a clear understanding of this fact.

The book finds that Kitchin's political positions, when he disagreed with President Wilson, have come to prevail overwhelmingly in the public mind. In fact, in somewhat hyperbolic manner the author asserts that the present philosophy "cultivated by a popular President with a happy faculty for the dramatization of the liberal point of view, stems straight back to the liberalism of Kitchin and his group." This may be news to President Roosevelt who, during his brilliant incumbency of the Assistant Secretaryship of the Navy (where he really ran the show) was always close to Wilson and was much affected by his social and political principles. Naturally, as the active head of one of the two war arms he was out of sympathy with Kitchin's attitude.

Kitchin knew his people. That dogmatic statement is proved by the fact that from the age of nineteen he

was never out of public life or never off the public payroll. Sometimes it is hard to believe that it is only what B. M. Baruch has jestingly called "pro bono publico fixation" which is the determining factor in doggedly keeping on in political office. Sometimes the feeding trough is part of the motive.

There are those who would doubt Kitchin's essential liberalism, and they measure that quality by his attitude toward the Negro. He supported for Governor of North Carolina Charles B. Aycock, who had committed himself to the disenfranchisement of the Negro voters on the pretext of illiteracy. Mr. Aycock and Mr. Kitchin sought to mitigate their attitude by saying that "the Old South principle of noblesse oblige was to be carried out,"—whatever that means.

Kitchin was a pretty good man, and the book can be given that praise, but not much more. Certainly one cannot find within its 341 pages those qualities that biography should possess: authority, objectivity, ability to present the other side. The author sympathizes with Kitchin in the latter's complete opposition to military preparedness during the period from 1914 to 1917. Kitchin saw this merely as a joy ride for war traffickers, and Arnett seeks to justify that view.

Kitchin had courage. That quality is undeniable, but Professor Arnett doesn't always make this plain. Frequently the question arises in this reader's mind as to whether the author doesn't accentuate the wrong notes. To Arnett, as to Kitchin, those organs of public opinion which supported him were godlike and inspired; those papers which fought him were venal and corrupt.

Books such as these are written primarily to settle arguments relating to crises, and should be final because of their authority as to fact and their intelligence in evaluation of opinion. These efforts are present in this volume, although the net results are decidedly not, but publication is justified as a stimulant to thought. I enjoyed reading it, if for no other reason than for that glow of satisfaction that comes when you know the other fellow is wrong—and you don't have to prove it!

HERBERT BAYARD SWOPE
New York City

HOOVER, CALVIN B., *Dictators and Democracies*. New York: Macmillan, 1937. 110 pp. ($1.50)

Anyone who writes on current affairs in this hour when the world moves with such dizzying speed is likely to find himself immediately overtaken by events. Professor Calvin B. Hoover has had that bad luck in connection with this excellent little book. Last summer he assumed

that we were passing out of the depression and that "if economic revival continues there is no great danger of a dictatorship brought about by internal forces" in England and the United States. He felt that "by the summer of 1937 it could no longer be doubted that the capitalistic system had managed to outride the depression. . . . Consequently there nowhere existed any longer the possibility that Communistic or Fascistic movements might use the depression as an opportunity to overthrow capitalism and the parliamentary system." He was similarly unhappy in writing just before the Japanese invasion of China when he thought that he noticed a "swift change of policy upon the part of the Japanese Government. A new policy of 'patience' instead of truculence met the evidences of increasing Chinese national unity." He even thought that there was a fleeting moment when Japan had furnished signs "heralding more peaceful times in the Far East!"

That the depression has recurred in the United States and that Japan is continuing at war in China does not, however, invalidate Professor Hoover's study of the world situation. He does not contribute much that is new—who could? But he restates the problem of dictators and democracies with the sure touch that marked his two previous valuable books, on Germany and Russia respectively. He, too, feels that the two systems of government, democracy, and the totalitarian state, are implacably hostile and that there must be a showdown—he thought it would come in 1937. He thinks that everything hinges upon Great Britain and that if that country does not resist, totalitarianism will eventually sweep over all of Europe. If the British decide to resist, a general war can be expected "within a very short time." He admits that such a general war "would shake with unprecedented violence the already weakened foundations of capitalistic civilization" and would raise the question whether parliamentary government in France and England would survive the strain of war. None the less he feels that whatever the risks to the democracies, a war policy "affords wellnigh the only prospect for the survival of parliamentary government on the continent of Europe." In other words, he ends his book in the dreadful position of believing that war is the only cure, while admitting that even a successful war might destroy the democracies! Of course if the war is unsuccessful the totalitarian states will impose their will upon the whole world excepting, perhaps, the United States and Russia.

It is noteworthy that Professor Hoover nowhere treats of measures short of war, such as boycotts and

non-intercourse, and that he does not even discuss the relation of the League of Nations to the impending showdown. He thinks that there is a possibility that if the war lasts long enough there might be revolution in Germany and Italy, but he wonders if it would not mean merely a substitution of another kind of dictator for Hitler and Mussolini. He admits that "a modern 'mass' dictatorship which enjoys the support of a party organization, propaganda, and the monopoly of force, can maintain itself in power under circumstances so terrible that men conditioned by our modern culture cannot envisage them." He sees clearly that the question of what will happen in the dictator countries is enormously complicated by mass propaganda. We have never seen anything like this before and therefore cannot judge what will happen if war comes. I myself wonder whether in another gigantic struggle it would be possible for outside propaganda to make anything like the headway the Wilsonian doctrines and propaganda did in 1917-18, in Germany. For one object of the Goebbels propaganda is the convincing of every mind *now*, before war comes, that the United States, Great Britain, and France are hostile, that they really do not know what is going on in Germany and that therefore everything that appears coming from the outside world—especially from Russia—is purest poison, to be wholly disregarded. With outside propaganda guarded against in this way the only question that remains is whether internal revolution could come out of sheer despair and suffering—the kind of total collapse which drove King Alfonso out of Spain without the firing of a shot. This is today a slim hope.

On the other hand, Professor Hoover admits that the democracies may be profoundly affected if times continue bad with them, and the totalitarian propaganda continues. Indeed, he states specifically that if the totalitarian tide continues at flood in Europe "internal forces, now barely latent, may be expected to become dynamic and to generate a similar tide in the United States." Thus, the picture of the world he presents is the deepest black on almost every page. He does not even consider the possibility that, if the democracies drift, curative forces may gradually evolve in the totalitarian states. In his mind, time works for the dictators, and this will greatly encourage our militarists in Washington who are urging that we fight now before the dictator states engulf all of Europe.

None the less Professor Hoover's book is good reading if only because of his clear analysis of the true character of the totalitarian states. His comes more nearly to explaining the

present conditions in Russia than does any other book that I have seen, and gives the most reasonable explanation for the existing blood purge in Russia in its relation to the Russian psychology. His stressing of the similarities of the Soviet system and that of Hitler Germany is also valuable; that is a point which must steadily be driven home in the United States where there is still far too great a tendency to think leniently of the Fascists, while holding the Communistic system beyond the pale.

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD
New York City

SWABEY, MARIE S., *Theory of the Democratic State*. Washington: Howard University Press, 1937. 229 pp. ($2.50)

This volume is an appeal to reason. And because it comes when peoples everywhere, exhausted by the external and feverish quest for certainty, embrace the ancient idols of the cave, it is most timely. "We are homeless," wrote Walter Lippmann in *Drift and Mastery*, "in a jungle of machines and untamed powers that haunt and lure the imagination. . . . No mariner ever enters upon a more uncharted sea than does the average human being born in the twentieth century. . . . Our ancestors thought they knew their way from birth through all eternity; we are puzzled about day after tomorrow." Is it any wonder we feel tired or that we rely for guidance upon what James Harvey Robinson called our "animal heritage"? Reason is in retreat before the blind impulses and visceral itchings of the *Id*. "In contrast," says Professor Swabey, "to the generations that sought to change the world by appeals to reason and conscience, the modern approach seeks to take man captive through his appetities, to trap him as one would trap an animal through tricking its impulses."

The present volume is a protest against the non-rationalism of naturalistic social theory. Along that path lies despotism and the reign of King Mob entrapped by the Mussolinis, Hitlers, or Huey Longs of the world. Scientists and scholars who devote themselves to the manipulation of mass sentiments rather than to the stimulation of man's critical faculties, are, whether deliberately or not, preparing the ground for totalitarian dictatorship under which they will be the first victims. "As for ways of activating the public mind," says Professor Swabey, "there are at least two: the method of authority and the method of criticism. . . . The one appeals to the feelings, sympathetic and fearful, while the other arouses deliberative doubt and resistance to suggestion. . . . Authority is the method of force, of coercion, of blind conformity; whereas criticism is that

of reflection, questioning, persuasive conviction."

The first method is mystical, intuitive and impulsive, the second is empirical, scientific, and experimental. Professor Swabey's argument is that "although the facts with which they deal are different, the logic of democracy and science are very similar." When we say that democracy is government by discussion we mean that it is based on the logical testing of reality. Its methods, like those of science, are quantitative. "Utilizing logical and mathematical notions as a basis, it develops a distinct technique for administering the state. Citizens are treated as equal and identical in sharing the sovereignty. Popular elections for office are adopted, as well as ingenious devices for sampling public opinion. . . . Counting heads, measurement, sampling, all play a part." The democratic idea of justice is based largely on quantitative considerations, on "equivalence in give and take." Unlike other systems, democracy organizes power and apportions rights not upon the basis of qualitative differences as to race, class, religion, or birth, but upon the similarities of men and women. Like the facts of science, individuals in a democracy stand out as free and equal. Only in such a system are the quantitative methods of modern science applicable in the realm of political organization and procedure. The democratic implications of modern technology where "the logic of the machine takes up the quantitative argument," are clear.

It is not surprising, in the light of these considerations, that the current revolt against democracy is at bottom a revolt against science and reason. For democracy "stakes its case on the inherent (once called the 'self-evident') reasonableness of its ideas. For governments to endure, its sponsors have held, they must not intimidate men with superstition and force but convince them as intelligent beings." This is not to be accomplished by psychological manipulation, by attempts "to get below the threshold of reflection to primary organic motives," but by the development of a deliberative outlook. Not by appeals to the *Id* but to the *Ego*.

Science and invention through the development of new instruments of communication—the radio, motion picture, the press—have vastly extended the boundaries within which these appeals may be made. The future of democracy will depend upon the extent to which they, along with the public school, are utilized to develop man's critical faculties by the logical presentation of facts upon which reasoned judgments may be based or to anesthetize Reason by appeals to authority, sentiment and impulse. "In short, questions of the

franchise and elections are seen to be of subordinate importance as compared to tactics of publicity." A distinction, however, must be made between publicity as a *state* and a *function*. "As a state, it connotes the condition of being open to the observation of anyone and everyone; while as a function it has come to signify any organized attempt to disseminate ideas among the people at large, often with a view to equipping them for some course of action." Both are vital to any program of democratic education. Unfortunately, publicity as a function has been emphasized at the expense of publicity as a state. The final validity of an idea may depend, as Kant observed, upon its capacity to run the gauntlet of educative publicity. Hence free speech is of utmost importance.

The evil of propaganda, from a democratic point of view, "may be laid to its suppression of free speech. Admittedly propaganda is not only negatively dependent upon censorship but is positively characterized by the policy of withholding from the public knowledge of certain facts in order to strengthen the impression made by other facts released by the censor." To counteract this, Professor Swabey suggests the development of a great national bureau of publicity the aim of which would be public enlightenment rather than the control of behavior through psychological manipulation. It would differ from the permanent intelligence section proposed by Walter Lippmann in that it would distribute information to the country at large and not solely to those executives in charge of administration. The popular presentation of complex bodies of fact in scientific form through charts and pictographs, and the objective analysis of data in the press, over the radio, and in the cinema, is not impossible. Major emphasis would be laid on quantitative as distinguished from qualitative analysis.

"Inevitably democracy must face this major problem: whether it is any longer possible for the faculties of the ordinary man to compass the cumulative intricacies of his surroundings. . . . Man's greatest aid, it seems, in mastering the complexities of the modern world, has been the method of quantitative analysis." We live in a statistical age; Science, it would appear, is a "plus symbol." Why not, asks Professor Swabey, harness it to the cause of democracy—for only in that direction lies sanity and salvation, not only for man in general but for science itself.

The proposal bristles with difficulties. How can one separate qualitative from purely quantitative considerations? Facts, as facts, may stand free and equal—but as such they are meaningless. It is only when we draw inferences and conclusions from facts

that they acquire significance; and these depend, at least in the social sciences, upon the observer's psychological frame of reference. Factual relevancy is a function of particular categories or universes of discourse, and these in turn are likely to be determined by value judgments having their roots in psychological needs. Nevertheless Professor Swabey's book is a much needed antidote to that school which seeks to interpret man's behavior solely in terms of pushes and pulls, stimulus and response. Creative intelligence is no less a component of human nature than blind impulse. What lifts man above the beasts is his capacity for rational thought, however much it may be distorted by rationalization. In seeking to expand the jurisdiction of reason Professor Swabey stands with the legions of light against the forces of darkness.

There is much more to this book than has been indicated. The chapters on Communism, Dictatorship and Masterplans, Numerical and Proportional Justice, The Influence of the Machine, and Is Democracy Socialism? deserve most careful reading. In summary one can say that no more intelligent analysis of the Theory of the Democratic State has appeared in many moons.

Peter H. Odegard
Ohio State University

Borgese, G. A., *Goliath: The March of Fascism*. New York: Viking Press, 1937. 483 pp. ($3.00)

It was Tolstoi who reminded the scholars that, in the writing of history, they too often assumed their own profession to be responsible for the making of history. So it may be natural for Professor Borgese to view his Italy more from a former chair of esthetics at the University of Milan than from the foreign editorship of the *Corriere della Sera* or the propaganda ministry of the Orlando government.

Yet few analyses of the development of lately lamented Italian liberalism prove more penetrating than his. For him there was "no Italy before Dante." And the poets of the Risorgimento—Alfieri, Parini, Foscolo, Manzoni, Leopardi—outnumber and outweigh the more material heroes. His study of Italy's background, its resurrection, and "second death," deals with the development of national ideals, prejudices, and illusions, more than with the minutiae of politics.

For instance, touching the transition into Italy's "black age," Borgese excoriates the philosophy of d'Annunzio, but respects his pen as that of "the one writer since Dante and Machiavelli whose teaching has had a determining effect on the whole of the Italian mind." And in Mussolini he finds an editor "utterly unscru-

pulous in logic and information" and an orator "whose most substantial secret . . . is the eradication of words . . . that might express or infuse a feeling, however slight, of honest doubt. An improvised dogmatism, in hammering rhythm, is the kernel and pulp of his word, written or spoken."

Such views explain Borgese's present lectureships in American colleges. To the student of public opinion perhaps one of Borgese's major contributions is his clear perception of the method of Italian press control. Here were no censors' scissors and expressive blank spaces. The writer or editor in Italy was left free to print what he pleased—under the Damoclean sword of confiscation and of "whatever consequences might emerge from the tyrant's penal and civil laws and from the unpredictable arbitrament of the tyrant's henchmen," which could culminate in practical suppression of any newspaper. As the result, managers and owners "'freely' gave what could never have been extorted by means of compulsion."

Out of such propaganda and regimentation of thought, he feels, has come the current acceptance of the concepts of Fascism. And his appeal to the Italian people is to recognize that "Caesar died, and tyranny lived on. For the seat of tyranny was not in the heart of Caesar; it was in the hearts of the Romans."

CHARLES E. GRATKE
Foreign Editor, the Christian Science Monitor

STEER, GEORGE, *Caesar in Abyssinia.* Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1937. 407 pp. ($3.00)

Within Abyssinia the Italo-Ethiopian War was a contest between political and military modes of public opinion formation. Ethiopia, a region of isolated mountain plateau localities fenced by deserts, was governed by "tough man" war lords in fluctuating semi-feudal relationship to the Emperor. This "country" was not organized as a social or political nation because of tradition and of ignorance. Italian conquest had to occur before Haile Selassie's policy could discipline and control the peoples in his "empire."

That policy, essentially of opinion formation, used native symbols and practices (dress, gesture, ceremony, etiquette, mystery) with foreign devices (arms, airplanes, motors, radio, official journalism, press releases, secret service, patriotic societies, and auxiliaries) to serve enlightened statesmanship. Of 130 foreign correspondents at Addis Ababa, 80 had radio "collect" facilities, while 15 visited the American financial adviser, Mr. Colson, who gave out

releases twice daily. Ignorance, race and color prejudice, personal bad habits, fears of fancied "native" truculence, made the foreign press "introvert" and minimized the scope of fact as an influence in forming international opinion.

The Italian methods were those familiar to medieval historians. The Emperor was isolated by insistent misrepresentation of his character, position, aims, policy, ambitions, and acts, as well as of current events. Marginal tribes, leaders, localities were detached or brought over by bribery, brutality, threats, promises, and by setting factions and races at odds. Airplane propaganda, plus occupation of Axum, detached the Coptic priesthood. Spies were lavishly, even openly, used.

This opinion-forming indoctrination gave way under Marshal Badoglio in December 1935 to direct opinion control by airplane-spreading of mustard gas which had been outlawed in 1925 by Italy and other powers signatory to the Geneva Convention. Used indifferently against non-combatants, Red Cross units, and Ethiopian armed forces, this method was, next to Ethiopia's exclusion from arms purchases, the decisive factor in the war. Another method of opinion control in practice is thus available for study and analysis. Italian skill in the use of their methods, as listed, was highly expert and remarkably effective.

W. L. WHITTLESEY
Princeton University

SOROKIN, PITIRIM A., *Social and Cultural Dynamics,* Vols. 1, 2, and 3. New York: American Book Company, 1937. 745, 727, 636 pp. ($6.00 per volume; $15.00 set)

Before answering the question regarding the value of Pitirim Sorokin's *Social and Cultural Dynamics* for the student of public opinion we shall characterize the volumes in terms of the author's own objectives. In his effort to "understand something of what has been happening in the social and cultural world" about him, and in his desire to formulate the principles of "change and fluctuation of the Ideational, Idealistic, and Sensate cultures," he has disdained to use as his source materials the behavior of primitive societies on the one hand, or contemporary culture on the other, and has turned to Greco-Roman life and to the history of Western man for a rich storehouse of data upon which the analysis of cultural change can be based.

In spite of the wealth of assembled material—which alone makes the three volumes an outstanding historical contribution—the author will not allow them to be classified as cultural history but rather as a socio-

logical analysis of cultural change, utilizing the social experience of many peoples and many ages for the purpose of deriving principles. The result verges closely upon social philosophy and can, without doing violence to the author's own conception of his work, be considered a contribution to the philosophy of history.

Sorokin's massive volumes are to be distinguished from the usual encyclopedic work on cultural history not only by their emphasis upon the derivation of principles of change, but also by their profuse array of statistical data. As if to reduce to an absurdity the current emphasis of social scientists upon statistical techniques, he produces graphs, charts, tables, and rating devices in wholesale quantities. His statistical analyses of 1,000 wars, 1,622 revolutions and other internal disturbances, his tables measuring the fluctuation of social classes, and his indices of change in art, ethics, and law illustrate his penchant for counting things historical.

After he and his research assistants have examined all phases of culture over a period of twenty-five centuries, he comes to the conclusion that earlier sociologists made a serious mistake in transferring the theory of biological evolution to the realm of cultural change, for he finds that there is neither a cyclical nor a progressive development in history but that all things tend to *fluctuate* according to their own laws of immanent causation. "Sooner or later the prejudices and limitations of any single current call forth ever-increasing criticism and result in the reappearance of its rivals, their growth, and the overthrow of the dominant current." Because of this inner principle of change "the investigation of each type of culture requires its own special procedure."

The interrelations of the elements of culture Sorokin classifies into four categories: (1) spatial or mechanical adjacency; (2) association caused by an external factor; (3) functional or causal integration; and (4) internal or logico-meaningful unity. Because he thinks our present culture is quite lacking in the fourth and highest type of unity, it does not deserve the honor of being characterized as an *Ideational* culture but must be satisfied with the lesser rôle of a *Sensate* culture. Since this is its nature, we must expect that contemporary culture will overemphasize science and the scientific system of truth, whereas in a predominantly "Ideational culture and society, this system must occupy a much lower position and have much less prestige than, for example, truth of faith based upon revelation or its substitutes."

Although one cannot fail to be impressed by the scholarly work involved in amassing such an array of

data as these volumes, or avoid admiring the author's ability in organizing the material so clearly that he never loses sight of the principal purpose, the reader may find difficulty in agreeing either with the author's principles of change or with his simple characterization of our culture as sensate. One suspects that if the graphs were organized in a slightly different manner they would not so consistently support the author's central thesis, and also that Sorokin often strays from his own logico-meaningful method of analysis when he allows expectancy, feeling, and insight to support his contentions—as is often the case.

As the student of public opinion has no doubt already inferred, Sorokin's impressive scholarship may be of general interest to him but has little direct connection with current research in this field. Although in his analysis of social change Sorokin might well have given considerable attention to the function of propaganda and to the techniques of public opinion manipulation throughout the ages, he is so preoccupied with the idea that "systems change according to the course of life which is predetermined for them by their very nature," that he can afford to give only passing attention to such external forces as are commonly examined by the student of public opinion. To Sorokin these are merely incidental matters reflecting the limitations of a sensate scientific approach. As Sorokin has little time for such matters, so the research worker in propaganda will probably find little direct assistance, but much general interest, in a reading of Sorokin's systematic analysis of cultural change.

ROBERT L. SUTHERLAND
Bucknell University

ZELLER, BELLE, *Pressure Politics in New York, A Study of Group Representation before the Legislature.* New York: Prentice-Hall, 1937. 310 pp. ($3.00)

This study, which follows E. E. Schattschneider's excellent *Politics, Pressures, and the Tariff* in the series under the editorial direction of Schuyler C. Wallace, is an excursion into a rich and new field: the pressures determining the course of public policy in the legislature of the Empire State. The fundamental concepts of the analysis are broad and satisfactory. The legislature is seen as the focal point of many organized pressures. Labor, business, the farmers, the professions, the welfare groups, the veterans, and various others each receive careful and detailed study. The techniques of these various pressure groups are separately summarized and the problem of fitting them into a responsible rôle in

democratic government is intelligently discussed.

Dr. Zeller is inclined to see the labor pressure groups as the most vigorous in legislative action at Albany. She marshals an impressive array of facts to support her conclusion, describing the efficiency with which the labor pressure groups have organized their forces into legislative committees which develop a labor program for the legislature. Labor is also seen, and properly in Albany, as an "adjunct to the Democratic party." The business pressure groups of the state are subjected to the same careful survey and the writer makes it evident that if labor is the most vigorous, business is still undoubtedly the more powerful pressure.

Perhaps the most interesting pressure groups described are those operating in behalf of the farm population of the state. In a highly industrialized state, the farmers are still surprisingly powerful. This is in part the result of Republican affinity with rural areas, but in large part it would appear from Dr. Zeller's study it results from cooperative action of farm pressure groups through conferences at Albany which discover the minimum common program upon which all their pressures can be united. This conference technique has had an effective history during which the conservative Grange and the progressive Farm Bureau Federation have been held together on a basic program.

Dr. Zeller also describes with discernment the operation of pressure groups in the professional area. Law, medicine, education, and the welfare groups are seen as specialized pressures operating within a narrow range of legislative interest. The veterans and the Drys, long described by the press as the most powerful pressure groups, are seen in their proper perspective by the author, and while she grants them great power on special occasions, she correctly describes them as of lesser weight than labor, business, or the farmers.

The volume also includes an important analysis of the techniques used by these pressure groups. The most significant observation is the tendency of all these groups toward the use of mass pressure. Each is described as seeking the widest possible membership or at least the appearance of a wide membership. Each uses the technique of overwhelming the legislature on strategic occasions with letters and telegrams from the constituency. Each seeks opportunities to join with others in joint conferences or joint proposals. Each turns to the newspapers, the radio, the school, on every possible occasion. Dr. Zeller also finds an increasing use of legislative representatives by the various pressure groups. These are a recent substitute for the tradi-

tional lobbyist. In their contacts with the parties, the author discovers, pressure groups operate usually through individuals representing a group and not officially the organization. There is a definite concentration on the chairmen of the various committees, but the author notes an increasing tendency toward rank and file pressure.

The study is done with earnestness and confidence. The author has perspective and sophistication. We need forty-seven additional studies of this type for each of the remaining state legislatures and perhaps a study for each of the large cities. We need a detailed analysis in each state of each significant section of pressures. We need a detailed analysis in each legislature of each significant technique. We need an analysis of legislative response to these pressures, perhaps using the method suggested by Professor Herman Beyle. This study should serve as a model and standard for an important program of research on public opinion and pressure groups.

WALLACE S. SAYRE
New York University

GAUS, JOHN M.; WHITE, LEONARD D.; DIMOCK, MARSHALL E. *The Frontiers of Public Administration.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936. ix, 146 pp. ($2.00)

Under the above title three leading American scholars present contributions to the study of public administration. Professor Dimock writes on "The Meaning and Scope of Public Administration," "The Rôle of Discretion in Modern Administration," and "The Criteria and Objectives of Public Administration"; Professor Gaus discusses "The Responsibility of Public Administration," "A Theory of Organization in Public Administration," and "American Society and Public Administration"; and Professor White examines "The Meaning of Principles in Public Administration."

In conducting this exploration into the theoretical foundations of public administration the authors have performed a valuable service. By redefining old principles in the light of modern needs, by rejecting viewpoints and concepts no longer applicable to existing conditions, and by formulating new standards for the guidance of modern administrative action, they have helped clear the way for a more systematic development of this rapidly expanding field.

The chief merit of the study lies in the attempt made to "humanize" the subject matter. This appears to be a common aim of the authors, either expressly stated or clearly implied at many points. Professor Dimock's remarks in his analysis of efficiency as

a standard of administration are especially pertinent. "The mechanical view of efficiency," he writes, "cramps the style of even those who are responsible for management. Machine-like efficiency is to the responsible executive of an enterprise as chilly aloofness is to an orator. Successful administration is warm and vibrant. It is human" (p. 120). Again: "Efficiency is a matter of quality, and hence quantitative and mechanical methods of measurements must perforce be far from complete" (p. 122). Conceivably the study of public administration might be revived from the coma of dullness into which it has fallen in this country by more injections of common sense like this.

The realistic approach to public administration that is embodied in these essays has special significance for students of public opinion. In his excellent discussion of the problem of responsibility Professor Gaus correctly observes that:

> The traditional restraints upon the discretion of the administrator through making him responsible to the electorate, the courts, and the legislators are inadequate. The injurious policy or action is taken long before review can attempt to undo the damage. It is only by having the interest present and on the spot when the policy is determined and the action taken that substantial justice can be secured. And even more significant is the fact that increasingly public administration concerns itself directly with seeing that the interest is organized, so that it may resist coercion (pp. 37-8).

If by becoming more fully aware of its broader implications public administration can thus be freed from the straitjacket of narrow, legalistic premises and concepts within which it has so far been rigidly confined, then the prospects are brighter for a systematic exchange of knowledge between students of public administration and students of public opinion, and for the development of cooperative research in problems that are common to both disciplines.

PAUL T. STAFFORD
Princeton University

LEE, ALFRED M., *The Daily Newspaper in America*. New York: Macmillan, 1937. 797 pp. ($3.50)

Concluding that the press, like society, is being blindly led along an unplanned course by "our numerous 'selfish' adaptations to life conditions," Dr. Lee warns that unless newspapers permit gradual modification of their rôle in society, drastic damaging change may be forced upon them. Did the First Amendment to the Constitution, he asks, seek to guarantee unusual immunity from investigation to big corporations owning powerful newspapers? Or offer aid to the establishment of newspaper monopolies in most American

towns? He believes in freedom of the press but asks—for whom? It is a pertinent query.

Like a Sears, Roebuck catalog, Lee's book is terse, inclusive, and highly informative. It is not an exposé or a sociologist's sermon—of which we have had too many. It is the best survey of journalism this reviewer has read in ten years, but it is a hard book to read. Occasionally his style is as lucid as a mail order catalog but more often it reeks of the dust of Ph.D. dissertations. Irrelevant statistics obscure the thought, but when one has waded through the first three chapters of this case study of one American industry the record becomes as exciting as a Senate investigation.

The historical parts are condensed but adequate. And the social reasons are given which caused newspapers first to be expensive coffee-house journals of information and gossip useful to their merchant-shipper readers, later political organs, next advertising businesses, then seekers of mass circulations, and finally a puzzled industry claiming public utility status as indispensable educators in a democracy. There are stories of fights, great technical progress, and of high ideals but there is all too little interpretation of the manifold phenomena which mirror the life of our times. It is a source book. Perhaps some day a philosophical mind will digest it for us.

Glance through these selected subjects and the stimulation to be had from Lee's book will be apparent: how George Washington gave his "Farewell Address" to D. C. Claypoole as an exclusive handout; the Milwaukee newspaperman who perfected the typewriter in 1867; one of the earliest interviews, Horace Greeley questioning Brigham Young in 1859; the Charleston newspaper that made the first commercial contract in 1877 with the newly invented Bell telephone system; reasons for the rise and fall of the foreign-language press; why Negro newspapers rarely overcome the opposition of department stores which withhold advertising because they do not want Negro trade; the moral and church fight against Sunday newspapers and their victory built on war, immigration, and popular education; the growth of news agencies like the United Press and of labor unions like the Newspaper Guild; why syndicated feature material is used; surveys of reader interests; control of radio stations by newspapers. In 1935, newspapers controlled 68 stations; at the end of 1937 they had 185.

Other topics include: adless newspapers like the Scripps *Chicago Day Book* which lasted nearly five years; plans for a national daily based on radiophotoed facsimile pages;

truth vs. glamour in advertising; the domination of news by New York City; the economic failure of crusades for public weal; culture lag among publishers; postal development and mass circulation; the problem of cities with a monopoly newspaper; the barrage-like success of propaganda; the increase in literacy that led to suspicion of editorial fairness and disinterestedness; the weakness of libel suits as a means of checking news distortion (in suits totaling $7,000,000 Macfadden's *New York Graphic* paid out only $5,290); decline of political domination after the Civil War; effect of wars in increasing circulations and profits; how the Civil War broke advertisers' monopoly of the front page; the weakness of legal means of controlling the press as compared to skilful press-agentry, bribery, and advertising patronage; and trial by newspaper in a circus atmosphere.

Also: the surprising ability of newspapers to withstand various competition. (Newspapers held from 45 to 48 per cent of national business, i.e. advertising, 1929-35, while magazines fell from 37 to 32.5 per cent in the same period, and outdoor advertising declined 10.8 to 7.9. Radio, however, increased from 3.4 to 13.4 per cent.)

And: the 1849 forerunners of horror crime photos; H. L. Doherty's pending suits for $54,000,000 against the *Kansas City Star*; Huey Long's effort to license Louisiana dailies; labor's discovery that riots would get newspaper space when significant labor news releases would not; some evils of a standardized press; why craft unions are stronger than editorial unions; circulation saturation, stability that approaches monopoly, and their effect on slowing up change; the consumption of newsprint from 6 pounds per capita in 1890 to 62 pounds in 1929; and a discovery of one publisher that a 60-column maximum of news saved him $50,000 a year.

There are 32 statistical tables, several graphs, a 12-page bibliography plus copious footnotes, and a good but incomplete 30-page index. Unfortunately there are no illustrations.

John Stuart Hamilton
Managing Editor, The Independent Journal, and Associate in Journalism, Columbia University

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Mayer, Raymond C., *How To Do Publicity*. New York: Harper's, 1937. 269 pp. ($2.50)

Both a primer and a casebook of the art of propaganda, this work by unintentional inference is a comment of some significance on the practical functioning of newspapers and other disseminators of ideas and images in

our republic. Following the triumphal march of successful publicity men through its pages, leaves the reader with the inescapable conclusion that the press, radio, the cinema are but tools in the hands of clever craftsmen in opinion manipulation.

The author puts it more delicately. He refers to the "publicity family." Its principal members are news, advertising, magazine articles, motion pictures, radio broadcasts, and so on. The family is like an orchestra. A good orchestra uses a number of instruments. The instruments must be used skilfully. And of course the maestro who creates the symphonic production is no other than the publicity man who conducts. Mr. Mayer tells how.

Mr. Mayer is tremendously interested in the success of orchestras. He likes to see them produce tangible, laudable results for their patrons and sponsors. He lays down principles and cites concrete examples that make easy reading and leave lasting lessons.

What the music means does not seem to be of any concern to him. Mr. Mayer is a practical man. If a great many orchestras play at once, filling all space with competing sounds, do you wonder which will gain its sponsor's ends in this great musical competition? The one with the best orchestra leader, of course.

Everybody knows that good conductors come high and that the most successful symphonies naturally belong to those who are most able to pay. But these conclusions are the reviewer's. In a way they are unfair; for though the author does seem naïve in implying what he certainly does not intend to proclaim, he succeeds in what he consciously sets out to do. His book is a readable, reliable textbook on how to get publicity. Ask not the reason why. Your clients want bales of clippings, better relations with labor, crowds at Miami Beach? Mr. Mayer really tells you how you can make them happy.

CHARLES E. ROGERS
Kansas State College

KOHN, HANS, *Western Civilization in the Near East*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1936. xi, 329 pp. ($3.50)

As a scholar who has followed for years the development of Near Eastern nationalism, Professor Kohn is in a peculiarly favored position to broaden his treatment to include aspects of Westernization other than nationalism. His introduction points out the important place of Hither Asia in the European politics of the past. A brief summary of the geography and climatology of the area is followed by an historical sketch from the earliest times. A survey of exist-

ing social and economic conditions introduces a chapter which indicates the most obvious changes involved in the shift to Western Civilization. The strategic importance to the British Empire of the Near East area is made clear. The products of this area, its export and import business and the recently roused desire of its peoples for national self-sufficiency are discussed. A brief sketch of the history of the "Eastern Question" from Napoleonic days is thrown in. The final chapter discusses in some detail the political and economic history, since the treaties ending the World War, of Turkey, Iran, Syria, Iraq, Su'udi Arabia, and Egypt, but omits Palestine, except for occasional references. A brief bibliographical essay and bibliography mention sources.

The book contains much information of value to those who have not read the author's well known earlier works. Such new material as is added serves merely to bring up to date (1935) the chronicle of events. At least half of the book deals with matters which are not directly relevant to the subject. The conclusions are unexceptionable. The institution of Mandates has merely served as a cover for imperialistic exploitation except where nationalist agitation and open revolt have made the mandatory power so uncomfortable that it is withdrawing. Westernization goes on most rapidly in those countries which are independent, because British and French administrations can hardly be expected to favor local industrial development, which means fewer exports from the home country, and educational development, which means fewer jobs for Europeans.

Professor Kohn has not made clear the differences between Near Eastern and Western cultures and consequently has not explained the nature of the process of Westernization. He confines himself to a recital of the external events, such as the adoption of new codes of law, the construction of new factories, the establishment of new constitutions. Of the change in attitude of mind he says practically nothing. Revolutionary changes such as those occurring every month in the Near East are not made without the consent of the populations involved. Near Eastern public opinion is back of these changes because its leaders have carried the educated classes with them.

All that Professor Kohn has to say about the essential aspects of Westernization could well have been said in a brief essay. His book is disappointing because it deals superficially with one of the most extraordinary and momentous developments of modern times.

WALTER L. WRIGHT, JR.
Robert College, Istanbul

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In each issue, *The* PUBLIC OPINION *Quarterly* publishes a continuation of an annotated bibliography which appeared in 1935 in book form (Harold D. Lasswell, Ralph D. Casey, and Bruce Lannes Smith. *Propaganda and Promotional Activities: An Annotated Bibliography.* Minneapolis: Published for the Social Science Research Council by University of Minnesota Press, 1935. 450 pp.). To facilitate cross-referencing, the main heads of the subject-matter classification used in that volume are employed here. The sub-heads have been condensed or eliminated, as a simpler presentation is believed to be more satisfactory to readers of a periodical.

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GREGORY, WINIFRED, compiler. *American Newspapers 1821-1936: A Union List of Files Available in the U.S. and Canada*. New York: H. W. Wilson, 1937. 791 pp.

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allocation of wave-lengths and broadcasting facilities.

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Harvard tutor in sociology, who spent a year in the Third Reich, analyzes the Nazis' reorganization of the universities. A chapter on "The Recasting of the Academic Curriculum" contains a section on "Speculative Science and Propaganda." Bibliography, p. 5, and footnotes.

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Koon, Cline Morgan; and Noble, Allen W. *National Visual Education Directory: A List by States of 8,806 School Systems, Including an Inventory of Audio-Visual Equipment.* Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1936. 269 pp.

Approximately 17,000,000 students attend the elementary and secondary schools covered by this study.

League of Nations. International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation. *Le rôle intellectuel du cinéma.* Paris, 1937. 289 pp.

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ences as a worker in the Production Code Administration of the Association of Motion Picture Producers, Inc., which has attempted to formulate rules for dealing with movies' treatment of controversial topics like crime, sex, militarism, alcoholic drinks, animals, profanity, suicide, foreigners, etc., etc.

MODLEY, RUDOLF. *How to Use Pictorial Statistics,* with one chapter on symbols by Franz C. Hess. New York: Harpers, 1937. 170 pp.

How to use pictorial statistics and how to make the layouts. The author is head of an American firm specializing in this craft. Bibliography, pp. 158-66.

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NEURATH, OTTO. *International Picture Language: The First Rules of Isotype* (Psyche Miniatures). London: Kegan Paul, 1936. 117 pp.

Theory of a picture-vocabulary suitable for world-wide communication is elaborated by the founder and former director of the Social and Economic Museum of Vienna. Bibliography, pp. 116-17.

OZAWA, MASAMOTO. "Printed Food for the Millions," *Contemporary Japan,* 6: 60-68 (June 1937).

Survey of leading Japanese magazines and newspapers by a former *Asahi* editorialist.

POOLE, ERNEST. "Sons of the Wolf," *Harpers,* 175: 460-9 (October 1937).

Describes training received by boys from the age of six upwards, in Italian schools and youth organizations (Sons of the Wolf, Balilla, Avanguardisti).

PRICE, JACK. *News Pictures.* New York: Round Table, 1937. 192 pp.

Practical text for cub cameramen by a well known U.S. news photographer, now editor of the photographic column in *Editor and Publisher.*

SALVEMINI, GAETANO. "The Teachers' Oath in Italy," *Harvard Educational Review,* 7: 523-36 (October 1937).

Describes the purge of teachers and professors unsympathetic to the government; Ministry of Education control of all publications by teachers; military service required of university professors.

"Section XII," *Time,* 30: 42 (December 20, 1937).

How the New York *Herald Tribune* sold the Cuban government and business interests, for $32,000, a 40-page section, not labelled "Advertising," in its issue of November 21, 1937; how the U.S. liberal press reacted; and how the Cuban government bestowed medals on Mrs. Ogden Reid of the *Herald Tribune* and on the press agent who negotiated the deal.

SIEGEL, SEYMOUR N. "Cities on the Air," *Air Law Review,* 8: 292-315 (October 1937).

Analysis of the various municipal uses and functions of radio services, especially in the light of the radio systems owned by New York City, of which the writer is Director of Radio Broadcasting.

SOKOLSKY, GEORGE EPHRAIM. "Government by Pressure," *Atlantic,* 159: 660-79 (June 1937).

U. S. lobbies and pressure groups.

"Spanish War Posters," *New Republic,* 92: 122-3 (September 8, 1937).

Thrasher, Frederic Milton, editor. *Educational Aspects of Motion Pictures* (November 1937 issue of *Journal of Educational Sociology*).

Contains articles on such topics as "The Film as an Agency of British-American Understanding" (by Frank Darvall, Research Director of the English-Speaking Union of the British Empire); "The League of Nations' Interest in Motion Pictures in Relation to Child Welfare" (by Ruth Bloodgood, Children's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor); "Civic Education by Radio" (by Thomas Baird, British General Post Office Film Unit); "Educational Possibilities of Motion Pictures" (by Mark A. May, Director of the Institute of Human Relations, Yale University); etc. Book reviews, pp. 190-92.

PART VI. MEASURING THE EFFECTS OF PROPAGANDA

"At Last, an Audited Window Display: Advertising Research Foundation Report Shows How to Measure Circulation of Window Advertising," *Business Week*, December 18, 1937, p. 42.

Bernays, Edward L. "Public Opinion and Public Relations," *Market Research*, 8: 11-14 (February 1938).

Uses of research from the point of view of a public relations counsel.

Bernays, Edward L. "The Unbiased Approach to Propaganda: An Analysis of a Common Error," *Contact*, no. 46 (November 1937). 5 pp.

Statement of Edward L. Bernays, public relations counsel, to the effect that the recently organized Institute for Propaganda Analysis is using a "superficial and unscientific approach." The writer suggests several alternative activities it might undertake.

Brown, L. O. "Twelve Ways for the Industrial Advertising Manager to Use Research," *Industrial Marketing*, October 1937, pp. 19-22.

De Boer, John J. "The Determination of Children's Interests in Radio Drama," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 21: 456-63 (August 1937).

Specially designed programs were produced; groups of listening children were observed by various techniques for the measurement of attention.

Elliott, Frank R. "Attention Effects from Poster, Radio, and Poster-Radio Advertising of an Exhibit," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 21: 365-71 (August 1937).

Public attention was attracted to an exhibit at a state fair by three different methods, and results were compared.

Farnsworth, Paul Randolph. "Changes in Attitude Toward War during the College Years," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 8: 274-9 (May 1937).

"First Aid to Propaganda Hunters," *Scholastic*, 31: 12 ff. (October 9, 1937).

On Institute for Propaganda Analysis.

"Fortune Quarterly Survey," *Fortune*, July 1935——. The *Eleventh*

Survey, January 1938, deals with: (1) Type of relief for the permanently unemployed; (2) Direct *versus* indirect taxes; (3) Guaranteed farm prices; (4) Income required for a "decent" standard of living; (5) Are you content with your present occupation? (6) Type of liquor legislation; (7) Favorite recreation; (8) Favorite radio programs and radio stars; (9) Third term for Roosevelt; (10) Was Mr. Justice Hugo L. Black a good or bad choice for Supreme Court appointment? (11) Choice for next President of the U.S.

HARRIS, CURETON. "$67,000 for Radio Research," *Market Research,* 7: 3-6 (December 1937).

Research project on social effects of radio to be started by School of Public Affairs, Princeton University.

INSTITUTE FOR PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS, INC. (132 Morningside Drive, New York City). *Propaganda Analysis: A Monthly Letter to Help the Intelligent Citizen Detect and Analyze Propaganda.* New York, October 1937——.

This Institute, staffed by a board of some fifteen well known educators and social scientists, is "a non-profit corporation organized for scientific research in methods used by propagandists in influencing public opinion. It will conduct a continuous survey and analysis of propagandas." It will also supply study-courses for use at the secondary school level. For the first year, it operates under a grant of $10,000 donated by the late Edward A. Filene.

——. *Press Editorials: Institute for Propaganda Analysis.* 12 pp., photolithographed.

Reprints of press comment and news stories concerning the first few weeks of the Institute's operations.

JANSSENS, CH.-A.; and HAHN, H. "Influence de la publicité sur l'enfant," *Travail humain* (Paris), 4: 385-406 (December 1936).

Two psychotechnicians of the Institut des Hautes Études de Belgique tested 856 Belgian elementary and high school students to determine age of first recognition of trade marks and earliest age at which children rationalize their trademark preferences.

KATZ, DANIEL; and CANTRIL, HADLEY. "Public Opinion Polls," *Sociometry,* 1: 155-79 (July-October 1937).

General evaluation of the several methods currently used in opinion polls.

LEVINGER, LEE JOSEPH. "Surveying the Jewish Students," *B'nai Brith Magazine,* 51: 214 ff., 270 ff., 300 ff., 338 ff. (April, May, June, July 1937).

Research director of the Hillel Foundations analyzes census of Jewish students in U.S. and Canadian colleges. 4,000 replies were received to 20,000 mailed questionnaires on student affairs and opinion.

LONGSTAFF, HOWARD PORTER. "Mothers' Opinions of Children's Radio Programs," *Journal of Applied Psychology,* 21: 265-79 (June 1937).

Based on interviews with several hundred mothers in Minneapolis and St. Paul.

McMurry, R. N. "Measuring the Advertising Dollar's Worth: A Discussion of Methods for Quantitatively Determining the Success or Failure of Advertising and Public Relations Efforts," *Commerce*, October 1937, pp. 22-3 ff.

O'Rourke, Lawrence James. "A Study in Social Behavior," *Teachers College Record*, 38: 678-85 (May 1937).

Institute of Educational Research, Teachers College, is compiling summaries of likes and dislikes which 54,000 children in the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades have expressed toward various forms of personal conduct. As a form of civic training, the children themselves assemble and analyze these statements of the causes of popularity.

Pringle, Henry Fowles. "What Do the Women of America Think About Marriage and Divorce?" *Ladies' Home Journal*, 55 no. 2: 14-15 ff. (February 1938).

Popularly written report of a survey by the interview method. Size of community, church affiliation, marital status, income, and age were the factors used in selecting a "cross-section" of American women.

"Propaganda Analysis," *Science News Letter*, 32: 410 (December 25, 1937).

"Propaganda Battle," *Time*, January 24, 1938, p. 24.

Controversy between professional publicists Edward L. Bernays and Clyde R. Miller over the merits of Institute for Propaganda Analysis.

"Propaganda Probe," *Time*, October 11, 1937, p. 59.

Story on the Institute for Propaganda Research and brief biography of its executive secretary, Clyde Raymond Miller.

Punke, Harold H. "The Home and Adolescent Reading Interests," *School Review*, 45: 612-20 (October 1937).

Supplements the author's report in *Library Quarterly*, July 1937, on reading habits of pupils in 11 Georgia high schools and 11 Illinois high schools. Replies to questionnaires indicated preferred parts of newspapers, favorite types of magazines, names of magazines read, etc.

Punke, Harold H. "Sociological Factors in the Leisure-Time Reading of High School Students,"

Library Quarterly, 7: 332-42 (July 1937).

Questionnaire study relating reading interests to sex differences, school year, employment status, size of family, and radio programs. Subjects were pupils in 11 Georgia high schools and 11 Illinois high schools.

SMITH, MAPHEUS. "Spontaneous Change of Attitude Toward War," *School and Society*, 46: 30-2 (July 3, 1937).

Using the Droba *Attitude Toward War Scale*, 282 students in sociology classes at the University of Kansas were tested at intervals from 1932 to 1936. The group as a whole increased in antagonism toward war from year to year.

"Survey Among 5,000 Consumers Shows That Advertising Creates Stronger Impressions Than in 1935," series of articles in *Sales Management*, November 15 to December 15, 1937.

WEST, V. ROYCE. "American Neutrality on Europe's Front Pages," *Journalism Quarterly*, 14: 158-67 (June 1937).

Headlines of British, French, German, Italian, and Spanish newspapers were analyzed to determine journalistic treatment of (1) President Roosevelt's request for extended neutrality legislation (1936), and (2) shipment of U.S. airplanes to Spanish Leftists.

PART VII. PROPAGANDA AND CENSORSHIP IN MODERN SOCIETY

ACKERMAN, CARL WILLIAM. "Public Opinion and the Press," *Vital Speeches*, 3: 521-4 (June 15, 1937).

BELLQUIST, ERIC CYRIL. "Public Opinion and Propaganda," *California Monthly*, 40: 9-11 ff. (January 1938); 22-24 ff. (February 1938).

General article by University of California political scientist.

BURTON, WILBUR. "Ways of the Oriental Censor," *Fortnightly*, 147: 724-31 (June 1937).

Modern and ancient examples of Chinese and Japanese censorship.

CANHAM, E. "Government by Propaganda," *Christian Science Monitor Magazine*, October 6, 1937, pp. 3 ff.

CARNEY, WILLIAM P. "Fighting the Censor," *Scribners*, 101: 33-38 (June 1937).

New York Times correspondent describes newsmen's encounters with European censors.

"A Few Jottings on Propaganda," *Catholic World*, 145: 513-18 (August 1937).

Editorialist finds that propaganda is "ubiquitous"; advocates a Communist *Nihil Obstat* so that readers can tell the author's standpoint before reading him.

FOSTER, JAMES E. "Censorship as a Medium of Propaganda," *Sociology and Social Research*, 22: 57-66 (September 1937).

FRIEDRICH, CARL JOACHIM. "Education and Propaganda," *Atlantic,* 159: 693-701 (June 1937).

General essay by Harvard political scientist.

GALLUP, GEORGE. "Government and the Sampling Referendum," *Market Research,* 8: 6-10 (February 1938).

Sampling referendum as a preventive of ill-advised legislative or executive action, and as a checkmate on minority pressure-groups.

HAYS, ARTHUR GARFIELD. *Let Freedom Ring,* revised edition. New York: Liveright, 1937. 475 pp.

Revision of a standard treatise on U.S. civil liberties cases, by a leading counsel of the American Civil Liberties Union.

HENDERSON, LAWRENCE JOSEPH. "Aphorisms on the Advertising of Alkalies," *Harvard Business Review,* 16: 17-23 (Autumn 1937).

Harvard professor of biological chemistry finds that advertisements for products that "alkalize" are "nearly always inaccurate, and misleading as to fact," but "probably not appreciably harmful."

NAFZIGER, RALPH O. "World War Correspondents and the Censorship of the Belligerents," *Journalism Quarterly,* 14: 226-43 (September 1937).

POLLARD, JAMES E. "Advertising Copy Requirements of Representative Newspapers," *Journalism*

Quarterly, 14: 259-66 (September 1937).

Fourteen U.S. metropolitan papers and a score of non-metropolitan papers were queried as to their advertising standards.

"Propaganda: A Study in Two Parts," *Talks* (Columbia Broadcasting System), 3 no. 1: 1-10 (January 1938).

(1) "How False Propaganda May Start," by Stuart Ayres. (2) "How Propaganda Works," by Shepard Stone.

RUGG, HAROLD ORDWAY. "Propaganda and the Intelligent World Citizen: Sifting the Real Reasons from the Good Reasons," *Scholastic,* 31: 25S-27S (December 11, 1937).

SENO, TOKUJI (pseud.). "Cinema Censorship in Japan," *Contemporary Japan,* 6: 87-94 (June 1937).

Comments on outstanding cases of censorship between 1930 and 1936.

SPENDER, J. A. "History Perverted into Propaganda," *Hibbert Journal,* 35: 341-8 (April 1937).

General essay advocating agnosticism as to historical "laws."

Correction

The reference to "U.S. House of Representatives. Committee on Education and Labor," in this bibliography, January 1938, p. 176, should read: "U.S. Senate. Committee on Education and Labor."